



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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CONTENTS

8 November 1990

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Congo

- * Nguesso Pressed on Multiparty Reform [Paris LE MONDE 2 Oct] 1

Rwanda

- Defense Ministry Communique Announces Victory [Kigali Radio] 1
- French Minister Says French Workers To Return [AFP] 2
- Front Leader Said Killed by 2nd in Command [AFP] 2

Zaire

- * Huge Budget Deficit Reported; Economy Ruined [ELIMA 14 Sep] 2
- * Paper Decries State of Lawlessness in Kinshasa [ELIMA 15-17 Sep] 5
- * Opposition Reported Ready To Form Government [ELIMA 15-16 Oct] 5
- * Yoko Discusses Opposition Stand, Mobutu, Economy [ELIMA 27-28 Sep] 7
- * Paper Endorses Abolishing Information Ministry [ELIMA 27-28 Sep] 11
- * Government Criticized for Making Wrong Moves [ELIMA 8-9 Oct] 12

EAST AFRICA

Kenya

- President Moi, France's Pelletier in Talks [Nairobi Radio] 15
- Former Minister's Brother Reportedly in U.S. [Nairobi TV] 15

Somalia

- Agriculture Minister on Banditry, Food Supply [Mogadishu Radio] 15
- Rebels Claim 24 Soldiers Defect to SNM Ranks [Radio of Somali National Movement] 15
- Reportage on Prime Minister Visit to Saudi Arabia [cross-reference] 15

Tanzania

- France's Pelletier Meets President Mwinyi [Dar es Salaam Radio] 16
- Zanzibar Nine-Man Electoral Commission Named [Zanzibar Radio] 16
- Returnees From Kenya Advised to Register [Dar es Salaam Radio] 16

Uganda

- French Cooperation Minister Pelletier Arrives [Kampala Radio] 16
- Meets With Museveni [Kampala Radio] 16
- Hutu Refugees Refuse To Settle With Tutsis [AFP] 17

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

- De Klerk Warns ANC Against Military Buildup [Johannesburg Radio] 18
- National Party Wins 7 Nov Randburg By-Election [SAPA] 18
- 'Fiasco' for NP [SAPA] 18
- 'Strong Vote' for NP [SAPA] 19
- De Klerk Comments [SAPA] 19

UK Parliamentarians Meet De Klerk, Du Plessis	[Johannesburg Radio]	19
Vlok Lifts Curfews; Unrest Designations Remain	[SAPA]	19
Schwartz Reacts To Boerestaat Party Statement	[SAPA]	20
Winnie Calls For 'Intensification' of Action	[SAPA]	20
Country Begins To 'Monetise' Crude Oil Stockpile	[BUSINESS DAY 7 Nov]	21
Police Confirm Use of False Plates on Vehicles	[BUSINESS DAY 7 Nov]	22
Court Grants Trialists Bail; Postpones Case	[SAPA]	22
'Massive' Power Failure Affects Western Cape	[SAPA]	22
Residents Allege Police Complicity in Gang Crime	[SAPA]	23
Bloemfontein Consumer Boycott Lifted 8 Nov	[SAPA]	23
NP's Group Protection Dying 'Quiet Death'	[THE STAR 7 Nov]	24
8 Nov Press Review on Current Problems, Issues	[THE STAR 8 Nov, etc.]	25
* Parents Complain About ANC Youth Camp	[SUNDAY TIMES 14 Oct]	26
* Ethnic Violence in Factories Worries Unions	[THE WEEKLY MAIL 5-11 Oct]	27
* Formation of Islamic Political Party Announced	[SUNDAY TIMES 7 Oct]	28
* NP Launches Image-Building Campaign	[SUNDAY TIMES 14 Oct]	28
* ANC Criticized for Lack of Direction	[SUNDAY TIMES 14 Oct]	29
Reportage on Nelson Mandela's Visit to Europe	[cross-reference]	29

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

President Dos Santos Assumes Defense Portfolio	[Luanda Radio]	30
Refusal To Merge Armies Called 'Bad Faith'	[Luanda Radio]	30
Dos Santos Envoy Meets Bush's Envoy in Lisbon	[Luanda Radio]	30
FAPLA Communique Reports UNITA Actions	[Luanda Radio]	30
KUP Reports 'Large' MPLA Army Presence		30
UNITA Urges Resumption of Peace Talks	[Voice of the Black Cockerel]	31
Commentary Views Anniversary With 'Hope'	[KUP]	32
Soviet Official Lauds Ties With Republic	[Luanda Radio]	32

Lesotho

People Said Unhappy With King's Dethronement	[London International]	33
--	------------------------	----

Mauritius

* Major Sectors 'Vulnerable' to Higher Prices	[5-PLUS 20 Sep]	33
* Utchanah Proposes Nuclear Power Plant in 2000	[THE SUN 15 Aug]	34

Mozambique

Minister Discusses Planned Chilean Cooperation	[Maputo Radio]	34
Frelimo, Zambian Delegations Meet in Maputo	[Maputo Radio]	35
Zambian Team Leaves for Sofala	[Maputo Radio]	35

Zambia

Kaunda Salutes Several African Leaders	[Maputo Radio]	35
Envisages South Africa in SADCC	[Johannesburg Radio]	35
Says Party Will Endure	[Lusaka Radio]	36
Chissano Says Government, Renamo Teams in Rome	[Maputo Radio]	36
People Called on To Choose 'Principled Leaders'	[Lusaka Radio]	36

Zimbabwe

Report Details 1989 Trade Statistics	[THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE 26 Oct]	37
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WEST AFRICA

Benin

- * Pitfalls of Democratic Experiment Examined [Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE Sep] 38

Ivory Coast

- Houphouet-Boigny Confirmed as President [Abidjan Radio] 40
Further on Results [Abidjan Radio] 40
Further Reportage on Assembly Succession Law [Abidjan Radio] 40
Alassane Ouattara Appointed Prime Minister [AFP] 41
Prime Ministerial, Speaker Roles Explained [Abidjan Radio] 41
Democracy Said Undermined at Elections [NOUVEL HORIZON 5 Nov] 41
Bank Governor on Financial Situation, Devaluation [FRATERNITE MATIN 7 Nov] 43

Liberia

- Spriggs Payne Airport Reopened; Medevac Underway [AFP] 43
Ex-Official Comments on ECOWAS, Doe's Death [PANA] 44
Advance Party of Interim Government in Capital [Lagos Radio] 44

Niger

- Five-Day Strike Brings Life to Standstill [London International] 44

Congo

* Nguesso Pressed on Multiparty Reform

91AF0156A Paris LE MONDE in French 2 Oct 90 p 46

[Article by Catherine Simon, special correspondent in Brazzaville; first paragraph is LE MONDE introduction]

[Text] Meeting in a special session, the central committee of the Congolese Labor Party (PCT) decided on 30 September to institute a multiparty system "immediately" and to convene a national conference in May or June 1991 to establish a timetable for legislative elections. With that, President Denis Sassou Nguesso will have satisfied those who, for months, have demanded a new beginning for the country's political process. Addressing the PCT in late September, the president had reaffirmed that it was a "necessity" for the sole party to orient itself in "new directions" in order to pave the way "toward a multiparty system." He forgot, however, to specify a date. But that has now been done.

These avoidance tactics were not without risk. By continuing to defer the day of reckoning, in time the Congolese president would have raised doubts about his sincerity. Only three months ago, he made no secret of his desire to confine the debate on pluralism to the ranks of the PCT. But this "lesser evil" scenario was impossible to impose. For the first time since he took power in 1979, the president had to loosen his grip—and considerably soften his arrogant manner—in order to weather this period of storms.

The first clap of thunder came from the Christian churches. The ecumenical council perhaps went farther than the president had wished when he invited it to share its "reflections" on the debates under way within the PCT. In its response on 10 August, the council variously condemned "the widespread abuse of power (members of the party or militia can do as they please)," "the frenzied race by a minority of the Congolese to enrich themselves," "tribalism elevated to a managerial method," the shameless squandering of public funds, and the continued existence of the "special police." The only point to be greeted "with satisfaction" by the Christian churches at that time was the "abandonment of Marxism-Leninism."

The Congolese churches considered it "necessary that the head of state remain above the fray and appear to be less a party leader and more the leader of the entire nation." This latter demand was asking the president to be an illusionist, a talent he clearly had not yet acquired. The brutality he displayed in breaking up the proceedings of the congress of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation (CSC), the sole labor union, in mid-September and the rapidity with which he gave in to the strikers' demands less than one week later did not augur well.

Retreat

The labor movement has traditionally been powerful in the Congo. The first unions, built on the French post-war "models," came into existence in the early 1950s. In 1964, the labor movement was reined in to form a single confederation under party control. The upheavals in East Europe and the Congo's worsening economic situation no doubt contributed to the CSC's present "dissidence." Low wages (frozen for the past five years), the mediocre performances of state-owned companies, and rising unemployment (particularly among recent university graduates), heightened the level of impatience. The plan to lower the retirement age to 50, announced this summer, was the last straw.

After bitter debate, the CSC congress decided to demand its independence from the party and took the position that a national conference should be held "without delay" for the purpose of instituting a multiparty system. President Sassou Nguesso's fury (he immediately called off the proceedings of the congress) turned to fear as the union members reacted: After four days of a widely supported strike action, the government's number-one man retreated, allowing the union to reconvene its congress and freely elect its top officials.

In any event, the victory of the CSC protesters precipitated the birth of a multiparty system. The players in this new game are already in place: the Democratic Forum led by Jean-Pierre Tuystere-Tchicaya (a former minister and member of the central committee "in charge of ideology" from 1972 to 1984); the Social-Democrat Party led by Clement Mierassa (also a former PCT central committee member); the Movement for Democracy and Total Development led by Bernard Kolelas; not to mention the openly tribal-sounding Bateke Liberation Front. Some parties, it is said, have already drafted their by-laws but all of them are ready to take up the challenge of political liberalization—a challenge just recently issued by the president in a surprise move.

Rwanda

Defense Ministry Communique Announces Victory

EA0711192090 Kigali Domestic Service in French
1115 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] According to the National Defense Ministry communique issued in the national language Kinyarwanda, the Rwandan Armed Forces won a new victory this morning, but those who escaped the counterattack are heading toward the Kivuye and Butaro communes. All the residents of the region are called on to exercise more vigilance to prevent the enemy's infiltration. The population is called on to follow the example of the residents of the Kayanza in the Kibungo Region in southeastern Rwanda who are being merciless toward the assailants [word indistinct] after their defeat in Kagitumba and in the Mutara Region.

The communique draws the population's attention to the enemy's trick. Once defeated, he tries to mingle with the residents. The population must understand the diabolic aims of the enemy, who, as he passes and until the worst happens to him, indulges in looting and raping.

Finally the National Defense Ministry's communique gives the following information: All of Mutara Region is under our Armed Forces' control, but tracking down remaining assailants is continuing in Kagera National Park.

French Minister Says French Workers To Return

AB0711132890 Paris AFP in English 1234 GMT
7 Nov 90

[Text] Nairobi, Nov 7 (AFP)—French workers who were evacuated from Rwanda at the beginning of the civil war will return to their jobs on Monday, the French Minister for Cooperation said here Wednesday. Jacques Pelletier arrived in Africa on Tuesday to gather information on the Rwanda crisis which began on October 1 when rebels of the Rwandan Patriotic Front invaded the northeast of Rwanda from Uganda. Mr. Pelletier said Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi indicated in talks on Wednesday that he would be prepared to participate in a regional conference on the crisis.

"We are seeking to organize a regional conference on the refugees because that is the problem that sparked the conflict," in Rwanda, Mr. Pelletier said. Hundreds of thousands of Rwandans have lived in exile since the late 1950s when the Hutu majority took power from the minority Tutsis.

Mr. Pelletier held talks on Tuesday in Rwanda with President Juvenal Habyarimana and in Tanzania with President Ali Hassan Mwinyi. Mr. Pelletier said Mr. Mwinyi would be prepared to organize the conference. Mr. Pelletier and the French delegation, which includes Jean-Christophe Mitterrand, the French president's son and special adviser on African affairs, were due to leave Kenya later Wednesday for Uganda to hold talks with President Yoweri Museveni. In the evening, the delegation was scheduled to leave Uganda for Burundi to meet that nation's head of state, Major Pierre Buyoya. On Thursday, the delegation will go to Zaire to have discussions with President Mobutu Sese Seko before returning to Rwanda for another meeting with Mr. Habyarimana.

Front Leader Said Killed by 2nd in Command

AB0711155690 Paris AFP in English 1543 GMT
7 Nov 90

[By David Chazan]

[Text] Nairobi, Nov 7 (AFP)—Rwandan rebel leader Fred Rwigyema was killed by his second-in-command Peter Bayingana, who was himself killed by rebels loyal to Major-General Rwigyema, sources close to the rebels said here Wednesday. The account was confirmed by Western diplomats here. The rebel sources, speaking on

condition of anonymity, said Major Bayingana had opposed Maj.-Gen. Rwigyema's plan to stage a lightning strike on Kigali, the Rwandan capital. Maj. Bayingana wanted to wage a slow guerrilla war to wear down the government of President Juvenal Habyarimana.

The row developed into a fight, and Maj. Bayingana killed the leader of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) on October 3, only two days after the rebels invaded north-east Rwanda from neighbouring Uganda, the sources said. Maj. Bayingana and other rebel commanders then kept Maj.-Gen. Rwigyema's death a secret. It was not announced by the rebels until after Maj. Bayingana himself was killed on October 22 or 23.

The RPF has repeatedly denied reports that Maj.-Gen. Rwigyema was killed by fellow rebels, saying he died in a mine blast near the border post of Kagitumba, where the rebels launched their invasion. But the Rwandan army said no mines were planted near Kagitumba. The rebels announced that Maj. Bayingana died in combat, but the sources said he and Major Chris Bunyenyezi, another top rebel commander, were killed by rebels who opposed their leadership and were angered by the death of Maj.-Gen. Rwigyema.

"We gave out the story that they had died in battle because we didn't want to undermine morale or publicise our internal problems," said a source close to the rebels. "But we hope the lesson has been learned. They shouldn't have started arguing before we had even achieved our goal. They should have settled it after we toppled Habyarimana," the source said, adding that the rebels were now united under their new leader Major Paul Kagame.

The RPF is led by Rwandan exiles based in Uganda. Most of its fighters are Ugandan army deserters of the Tutsi tribe whose families fled Rwanda amid horrific tribal massacres in the late 1950s, when the majority Hutus seized power from the minority Tutsis, Rwanda's traditional rulers, in the runup to independence in 1962.

Zaire

* Huge Budget Deficit Reported; Economy Ruined

91AF0042B Kinshasa ELIMA in French
14 Sep 90 pp 8-9

[Article by Essolomwa Nkoy ea Linganga: "The Economy: Zaire on the Verge of Bankruptcy"]

[Text] While waiting for the chief of state's press conference, we felt it would be useful to devote a series of articles to the political, economic, and social state of affairs in our country.

In the first commentary, which we published in yesterday's issue and that was entitled "Politics: Why Do They Want To Perpetuate Confusion?", we first of all alluded to the confusion that Marshal Mobutu is maintaining in

the world of politics to throw politics' factions off the track and to leave any competitors little time to act.

We pointed out that, deliberately maintained, this confusion may compromise the process of democratization of our political institutions. We also noted that the chief of state does not want to clearly define the rules of the democratic game and that our new-born democracy still has a long way to go.

With regard to the reconciliation recently effected in the MPR [People's Movement of the Revolution] between N'Singa and Vunduaawe, we revealed that it is built on the shortcomings of the Second Republic. This reconciliation will also not fail to complicate the Zairian political scene.

The crisis that is rocking the UDPS [Union for Democracy and Social Progress], plagued by the demon of divisiveness and corruption, is also of concern to public opinion. Thus, we hoped that Mr. Etienne Tshisekedi would get his colleagues of the founders college to give serious thought to this situation.

In our opinion, the public feels that, in order to save our incipient democracy and finally put an end to the confusion, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko ought to play fair and clearly define his political intentions, promulgate a new law governing the parties, and take into consideration the declaration issued by the 40 political parties resulting from the meeting organized on 31 August 1990 at the home of PDSC [Christian Democratic and Social Party] chairman Ileo Songo Amba.

Following this first article, which was political in nature, in this issue we take up a topic that is just as important, to wit, the economy.

While the uneasiness is total in the country's political circles, where people are saying that they are deeply concerned over the confusion the chief of state is maintaining in order not to favor the advent of democracy, a process that was set in motion to the great joy of the people of Zaire on 24 April 1990, people are even more uneasy in economic circles, where the situation is worse than catastrophic.

All the indicators have moved into the red. And while many of the countries in the world have for some time been suffering from the economic crisis and, fortunately for them, they are not dying of it, here in Zaire we have, on the contrary, begun to "die" of it.

To show the full extent of the situation Zaire has been going through for several months now in the economic sector, some informed observers do not refrain from saying that the "virus" has invaded the whole body, which, because of this, is completely defenseless because its resistance has quite simply given up the ghost.

Thus, it is felt that, from the standpoint of the Zairian economy, it is certain that the days to come promise to be even more gloomy.

In fact, all the available technical data and the latest statistics to date clearly indicate that our country's economy is practically bankrupt at the present time. After a gleam of hope in 1989 due to a vigorous mobilization of revenue and the conclusion of a new program agreement with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, during the past few months Zaire has again entered a process leading to bankruptcy.

Deplorable in more than one respect, this situation is the normal result of an administration marked by financial fraud and a shortage of hard currencies.

Severely condemned for mortgaging all of the country's chances for development and people's chances of prospering, this administration was marked by a deficit of about 100 billion zaires at the end of August 1990 as against only 20 billion at the end of April of this year, that is, immediately after the liberalization of Zairian politics.

When we are aware that a deficit of only 50 billion zaires for fiscal year 1990 was anticipated in the revised budget, there is good reason to sound the alarm and take a pessimistic view of the future.

As for the zaire, our currency unit, it has not stopped its downward spiral, which is not yet over. One of the best indices of the soundness of our economy, it has been suffering an unprecedented decline with a rate of depreciation of over 10 percent a month on the unofficial market since April 1990.

As concerns the exchange rate for the dollar, it must be noted that it has gone from 600 to 900 zaires on this market in four months time and that the gap between this and the official rate has exceeded 50 percent, compared to a 10-percent goal set in the budget.

Furthermore, the shortage of hard currencies and the poor condition of the roads has led to a glaring shortage of the basic necessities and a rise in the cost of fuel. As for the inflation rate, which was accelerated particularly as a result of the abusive use of banknote engraving plates, it was in the neighborhood of 60 percent at the end of August 1990, compared to a 30-percent goal for the year and the 56 percent it rose to in 1989.

For those observers who very closely follow the—to say the least disturbing—progress of the Zairian economy, the big deficit incurred at the end of August—or about 100 billion zaires—would have been understandable if the funds spent had been earmarked for investment expenditures or the financing of social infrastructures. Unfortunately, this is not the case and, as is the nasty habit of our leaders, the bulk of the expenditures realized during the past 4 months are at the very least unproductive since they involve politics and nongovernmental purposes, and therefore do not in any way serve the growth of our country's economy and the interests of the people of Zaire.

Moreover, it is no secret to anyone that last February the World Bank stigmatized the misallocation of funds to

the detriment of the production sectors and the disinvestment of GECAMINES [General Quarries and Mines Company].

Freezing of Zairian Economy

In light of all these factors, there is only one thing we can expect: The Zairian economy is very soon going to come to a halt due to the spiral of "the drop in production and in exports and imports, shortage of hard currencies, drop in tax and customs revenue, general rise in prices, and the population's loss of purchasing power."

Blind piloting of the Zairian economy, lack of budgetary discipline on the part of the authorities who do not conceal their allergy to sound procedures, financial fraud, repeated tapping of the national budget for non-governmental expenses and for purposes of prestige, a notorious inability to control economic parameters, imbalances at all levels, galloping inflation, pernicious distortions of tax systems, prices, interest rates and exchange rates, the nonexistence of a production incentive policy, deterioration of all basic infrastructures: This is the sad picture the Zairian economy has presented for several months now.

A moribund economy like our country's—whose human and material potentials do not predispose it, as national and international public opinion as well as financial organizations like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund maintain it does, to such a miserable fate—can only have disastrous consequences for the labor sector of the country as a whole. This explains the explosive labor situation Zaire has been going through these past few months with an unprecedented wave of strikes and workers who are demanding a sizable improvement in their living conditions, which are paradoxically below the poverty level.

Whether it be in the urban centers or in the back country, the Zairians, who are no longer willing to accept and tolerate more sacrifices and privations, have tremendous difficulty in surviving. These people who have been unable to lead a normal existence for 15 years now.

With a policy like the one developed by the transitional government, one that does not properly take into account the needs of the population, it is not surprising to see health, education, housing, transportation, and communications—after all priority sectors—constantly deteriorating.

In fact, as we have been aware for nearly 25 years, Zaire has not yet established an adequate health policy. Aside from the completely dilapidated state they are in, the medical facilities, which only cover an infinitesimal portion of the country, are without medicines, drugs, and medical equipment. In most cases, medical and paramedical personnel work under barely believable conditions that take us back to primordial times. Endemic epidemics are resurfacing to the great detriment of the local populations, who have no means of protecting themselves.

What we are complaining about in the health sector can also be seen in the education, housing, and communications sectors, where the conditions of the premises reflect a pitiful situation.

In plain language, up to now little has been done to protect and concretely encourage indispensable expenditures for social sectors like health, education, housing, etc. for the purpose of improving people's standard of living.

So What Can We Do To Avoid Ruin?

As all sensible persons are recommending, particularly our foreign partners, Zaire ought to immediately reach agreement with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on a program. This is all the more true since these two financial institutions for the moment constitute the only framework that is capable of enabling us to restore discipline to the execution of the budget, the allocation of funds for investments in production and the social sectors, and the efficient staffing of public companies through program contracts.

At the same time, it is also imperative that we establish openness in the management of the Bank of Zaire. As we have incessantly emphasized in our commentaries, our issuing bank must be placed under government control. This is a basic consideration inasmuch as any national bank operates under the supervision of the ministry of finance, not the president's, as is the case with us.

The Zairian economy being what it is today, all sectors are of the opinion that the government—if it really wants to reverse the present tendencies and save the country from ruin—must make a courageous choice: that of resuming our association with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. There is no other way likely to enable us to go from an economy weighed down with imbalances to one that is capable of favoring lasting growth and that will not crumble at the slightest shock. Since this is a matter of attacking the problem at its roots, there are good reasons for us to avoid all the ineffective approaches of the past, which end in catastrophes. Similarly, macroeconomic messes must be eliminated and, in like manner too, mechanisms that can help to correct imbalances in the balance of payments, ensure internal financial stability, reduce the public finance deficit, adopt monetary measures aimed at production, encourage competition and private initiative, and eliminate distortions in the tax, customs duty, etc. sectors must be established.

It is only in this way that we can succeed in restoring the Zairian economy to a sound basis and, consequently, saving the people from poverty and its aftereffects.

But, while some people believe that the economy has not yet failed and that the chief of state still has a few aces up his sleeve to save the country from ruin, in opposition circles people think that the Zairian economy's image cannot be changed in the present context and that these challenges appear to be difficult, even impossible to deal

with. Because they maintain that "Marshal Mobutu's authority lacks political determination."

Here at ELIMA, we feel that, if he really wants to save the boat from shipwreck, the president of the republic ought to do violence to his own feelings and surround himself with capable men for whom the national interest takes precedence over everything else. Which amounts to saying that the choice of his collaborators must be determined solely on the basis of a fundamental criterion: merit. Only competence and moral integrity should be given access to the great administrative responsibilities.

At stake is the country's economic and social future, which—as we pointed out above—does not seem to us to be very bright. Especially when we are aware that the reports we receive nowadays from the financial and banking sectors are not very comforting and they give us a glimpse of a tomorrow that is not at all pleasant for Zaire, which may find itself smothered. Due to the fact that the international financial institutions are in no hurry to provide our country—for well-known reasons—with their financial assistance between now and the end of the year. This is tantamount to saying that Zaire has not finished suffering.

(To be continued.)

* Paper Decries State of Lawlessness in Kinshasa

91AF0042A Kinshasa ELIMA in French
15-17 Sep 90 p 7

[Editorial: "Total Insecurity in Kinshasa; Two Generals Hold Foreign Businessmen for Ransom"]

[Text] Foreign businessmen established in Kinshasa are currently the victims of harassment by some members of the Zairian Armed Forces (FAZ).

It has in fact come to our attention that two generals have for some time now been supporting night search operations in the homes and stores of these businessmen.

The pretext given for seizing their property is that "we are looking for banknotes that are being hoarded and for seditious documents that may link these foreigners to opponents of the regime."

But in reality these are acts of intimidation calculated to swindle them out of large sums of money for the benefit of these two generals, whose names we are withholding for the time being.

According to the information we have, six foreign businessmen have already received visits from these "shame commandos." For obvious security reasons, however, we refrain from divulging their identities.

At this rate, it is to be feared that, after finishing with the businessmen, these individuals may next attack political leaders and those whom they pompously describe as "opponents of the regime."

The reader may remember that, in one of its commentaries, our newspaper had called to the attention of the minister of defense—a young officer who has had an exemplary military career—acts perpetrated by undisciplined members of the FAZ who are terrorizing the populace.

In our opinion, it is beyond any doubt urgent that the minister of defense and FAZ leaders take practical steps to rid the ranks of our valiant, well-liked Army of these black sheep.

* Opposition Reported Ready To Form Government

91AF0133B Kinshasa ELIMA in French
15-16 Oct 90 p 9

[Statement released by Zairian opposition parties, PDSC (Christian Democrat and Social Party), RDR (Democratic Rally for the Republic), MNC/L (Lumumba Congolese National Movement), UFERI (Union of Federalists and Independent Republicans), PADDECOM (expansion unknown), and Cartel: "Opposition Parties State They Are Ready To Form a Neutral, Responsible, and Representative Transitional Government")]

[Text] Just a few days after the decision made by the head of state to put Zaire on the road to an integral multiparty system, the opposition parties, signatories of the statement of 31 August 1990, met on 11-12 October 1990 to review the country's economic, social, and political situation in the wake of the decisions made public by the government on Saturday 6 October 1990. This is the joint statement that resulted from this meeting.

In fact, it was observed that the country's political situation, which had been at a standstill since 24 April 1990, had progressed in the democratization process through:

- the establishment of an integral multiparty system, the main consequence of which is the removal of the limitation of the number of parties to three and that of primary elections.
- access of political parties to the official media (radio and television); thus two of the opposition's basic demands are met.

The political parties have noted these decisions. Nevertheless, they point out, in particular, the lack of precise indications concerning the constitution to be submitted to the referendum and the election schedule.

In fact, submitting the constitution to the people's referendum implies in the first place that a constitution is drafted. And the constitution will have to reflect new political orientations that must be consistent with an integral multiparty system: nature of the republic's institutions, their prerogatives, parliamentary system (one or two houses), mandates of the president of the republic and elected officials, relations between higher and lower political institutions, organization of the state (centralized, decentralized, or federal), economic and social choices, etc.

This is why the political parties in the opposition recall their other demands, contained in their statement of 31 August 1990, and on which the government has remained silent, in particular:

1. Immediate convening of a national conference of all political parties and the nation's live forces, including the students, the army, and religious bodies, whose mission will be, in particular:

a) To determine the basic options of the third republic.

b) To set up a commission responsible for drafting the new constitution of a neutral, responsible, and representative transitional government. The present government is at the service of the MPR. Also, in order to speed up the democratization process and to foster a climate of serenity in the country and confidence toward Zaire's foreign partners, such a climate being likely to stop the present economic and social degradation, which ruins the people, the political parties in the opposition would be inclined to form a neutral, responsible, and representative transitional government, following a preliminary revision of the constitution's provisions concerning the government's prerogatives, which make the prime minister the true head of the executive branch.

This government must, alone, take full responsibility for the management of state affairs, replacing in this the president of the republic and contrary to what is the case with the present government. It must be given the mission to convene the National Conference.

[point c text missing in original]

d) To create a technical commission in charge of auditing the management of the Bank of Zaire, the companies belonging to the GECAMINES group [General Quarries and Mines Company], the MIBA [Bakwanga Mining Company], and other public and semipublic companies, with the obvious purpose of instituting management transparency and the reconstitution of national assets.

e) To ensure the immediate departure of governors and territory administration officials issued from the MPR, and their replacement by a neutral administration.

2. Dissolution of the National Assembly and all deliberative bodies, like all other bodies issued from the MPR party-state.

Actually, in spite of the change announced on 24 April 1990, most of the officials elected by the people at the national as well as at the regional and local levels, moved by corruption and other pressures that benumb their conscience, have done all they could to defend the cause of the MPR instead of serving the people's interests, thus making a mockery of their dignities and prostituting their institutions.

We must hope that they have drawn all the consequences of the bitter lesson given to them by the presidential decision of 6 October 1990 in favor of an integral multiparty system.

The people categorically rejected the single-party political system, which has been a resounding failure in Zaire. The people chose true democracy, which translates into a multiparty system.

Elected officials must comply with the people's will to deserve well of the country. Only then can they meet the expectations of the people whom they must represent with dignity, and only then can political parties be willing to trust them again.

3. Implementation of the following measures:

a) A general amnesty in favor of all political prisoners and exiles.

b. Moral compensation for members of the armed forces, civil servants, and magistrates who were dismissed for political reasons, pending equitable reparation.

4. Continuation of the investigation on the Lubumbashi massacre in a more independent context, and punishment of the culprits after a public trial.

The organization of the national conference is the mandatory and unavoidable path which, thanks to the national consensus, will make it possible to complete the successive steps of the democratization process in a rapid and harmonious manner, and to pull the country out of confusion and a disastrous position. The political parties in the opposition note with regret that the president of the republic seems more concerned by the question of the "presidential seat" than by essential problems affecting the life of the nation. They pay a deserved homage to the Zairian people, to the leaders of all political parties in the opposition, to officials of the Catholic and Protestant churches, to the national written press, to civil servants, to university and school teachers, to doctors and medical personnel, to students and schoolchildren, to farmers, to tradeswomen, to taxi and taxi-bus drivers, and to all of the country's live forces, whose determination made possible the victory obtained on 6 October 1990.

They invite all the Zairian people to overcome their fear and mobilize fully for the present struggle until the advent of a truly democratic regime that will improve their lot.

This statement made public in Kinshasa on 14 October 1990.

For the Christian Democrat and Social Party, PDSC, Joseph Ileo Songo Amba, National Chairman

For the Democratic Rally for the Republic, RDR, Bernardin Mungul-Diaka, National Chairman

For the MNC/L, Mabika Kalanda, General Adviser

For the Union of Federalists and Independent Republicans, UFERI, Adolf Kishwe, National Vice Chairman

For the PADDECOM, T. Mwananteba

For the Cartel: Yoko Yakembe, spokesman

*** Yoko Discusses Opposition Stand, Mobutu, Economy**

91AF0084B Kinshasa ELIMA in French
27-28 Sep 90 pp 8-9

[Interview with Yoko Yakembe, chairman of the Democratic Convention for Development and spokesman for the opposition cartel, by Lutete and Kongo; date and place not given; first five paragraphs are ELIMA introduction]

[Text] "We say no to the arbitrariness that the chief of state wants to establish. We refuse to comply with the law on political parties because it is a law that is manifestly iniquitous, villainous, hurtful, and libticide for the Zairian people." That was how Yoko Yakembe, chairman of the Democratic Convention for Development and spokesman for the cartel of opposition parties, began the interview, which he very kindly granted to us in Binza last Sunday. That interview took place a few days after the chief of state's press conference in Goma on 14 September 1990 and three weeks before publication of the list of approved political parties.

During the interview, Yoko reaffirmed the stand taken by the cartel of opposition parties in response to the president of the republic's press conference. He used the interview to discuss problems related to the national conference and the setting up of a government of public salvation that is to oversee the transition from the Second to the Third Republic.

He also took the opportunity to emphasize that the chief of state does not have the power to dictate the life of the political parties and that it is the people who, having regained their sovereignty, have the right to approve political parties. In Yoko's opinion, the chief of state has in effect resigned because he himself dissolved the Second Republic. Since he has relinquished his main function as chairman of the MPR [People's Movement of the Revolution], he can no longer exercise his secondary functions as president of the republic.

Nor did the country's economic and social situation escape Yoko's attention. He pointed out that failure to assist a country in danger is more than a crime and that the chief of state must, as a patriot, assume his responsibilities by entrusting the government to the opposition cartel, which is faced with a challenge it must accept so that the Zairian people can live in a truly democratic society and be able to open up new prospects for themselves.

All of that is discussed in the interview that we are publishing here in its entirety.

[ELIMA] Public opinion is continuing to react in various ways to the press conference given by the chief of state in Goma last 14 September. What does your cartel think of it, especially since we are only a few days away from publication of the list of approved political parties?

[Yoko] You must be aware that the chief of state's press conference attracted the attention of the political parties belonging to the cartel. We reacted in three ways. First,

we were deeply disappointed by the fact that the president of the republic did not announce any measures for halting the country's deterioration at all levels. Second, we were terribly disturbed to note a lack of perspective in Mobutu's thinking, considering that Zaire's 35 million people are still relying on him for their existence and the satisfaction of their basic needs. Third, we affirm our determination to take over in the name of our people in order to guarantee them decent living conditions.

In any case, we have realized that the rulers of the Second Republic are too tired to continue to lead our people, who must not continue to live in poverty.

Neutral Government of Public Salvation Needed

That is why we are recommending the speedy establishment of a government of public salvation consisting of about 10 prominent figures to help the country recover and to help the people form new hopes for the months and years to come.

It is also necessary that the national conference be summoned as soon as possible. It will enable us to form a national consensus on the democratic institutions needing to be set up and to establish an election timetable conforming to the people's aspirations. That national conference must be summoned by the chief of state, because calling such a meeting is a routine matter. And the chief of state, who has stepped down as chairman of the MPR, the chief function by virtue of which he has been Zaire's president of the republic since 24 April 1990, has in effect resigned. Since 24 April 1990, he has been in charge of routine matters. But as far as the officers for the national conference, its makeup, its internal by-laws, and its agenda are concerned, all of that is entirely up to the conference of political parties. It is the latter that constitute legitimacy. The chief of state no longer has legitimacy. He himself has dissolved the MPR, the party-state, and the Second Republic.

For our part, we are going to meet at the conference of political parties. After that, we will inform the chief of state of everything that is decided regarding the officers for the national conference, its makeup, its agenda, and so on so that the national conference, which is an urgent necessity at the national level, can be held.

[ELIMA] The point is that you want to make a clean sweep of the past—of all the measures adopted by the chief of state since 24 April 1990. But until there is evidence to the contrary, it is he who has legitimacy, isn't that correct?

[Yoko] We are not considering the plan established by the chief of state because we find that it contradicts the process of democratization. As I said a little earlier, Mobutu no longer has legitimacy. We need a national conference, and we need a neutral government that will be headed by someone in the opposition. There must be no ambiguity as to where its members came from.

We prefer to see an alternative government consisting solely of members of the opposition. The problem is no longer one of ensuring that the various groups are represented in the government, but of providing assistance to a people in danger of being lost. The cartel may accept a government whose members include figures from the MPR and the UDPS (Union for Democracy and Social Progress), in that the superior interests of the nation are more important than individual considerations. But I emphasize that that government must be neutral with regard to all political groups and independent of the chief of state.

[ELIMA] Let us suppose that such a government is set up. What, in your opinion, will be its mission?

[Yoko] The mission of that government of public salvation must be clearly set forth in consultation with the leaders of the political parties. At the cartel level, noticeable progress has already been made. First it will be necessary to call upon the living forces now on strike to return to work with formal assurances that their legitimate demands will be met, to straighten out public finance immediately through transparent management and the regular publishing of Treasury reports, and to establish a budget for national recovery that will focus basically on the vital sectors of the economy, particularly mining, transportation, agriculture, basic infrastructure, and so on.

All of that is basic, considering that for 25 years and still today, the chief of state has been and still is the only administrator of credit, the minister of finance, and the governor of the Bank of Zaire. All of that is what has made the Zairian people very miserable.

[ELIMA] During his press conference in Goma on 14 September 1990, the president of the republic said that political parties would be recognized and selected this coming 18 October. Has your cartel met all the conditions for being accepted?

[Yoko] Remember that concerning the approval of political parties, we have said no to the arbitrariness that Mobutu wants to establish. As far as we are concerned, there is no question of submitting applications to the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization to obtain approval. We in the cartel of opposition parties have decided not to comply with the law on political parties. I tell you that that law on political parties is iniquitous, hurtful, and libticide for the people.

We note first of all that the president of the republic has violated the Constitution, which sets the number of political parties at three. Also, he has violated the law on political parties by giving de facto recognition to four political parties without observing the legal provisions requiring approval and primary elections. Last, the chief of state is confusing his own will with the constitutional and legal imperatives by thinking that the law is whatever he, Mobutu, wants.

[ELIMA] So you are outlaws? You are operating in violation of a law approved by the National Assembly and promulgated by the chief of state? Are you doing this in the name of democracy?

We Refuse To Respect That Law in the Name of Democracy

[Yoko] We refuse to submit to the law on political parties in the name of democracy and democratic legitimacy. All power in a democratic system issues from the people. It is the people who give their approval both to the political parties and to the chief of state through the legitimacy they confer on both. It is not the chief of state who must give approval to the representatives of the people, and it is not up to the people to ask the approval of the chief of state, who is only their representative. It is the people themselves who approve political parties. So then, the law approved by Parliament on the subject of political parties is pointless, especially when one considers that since Zaire became independent, our country has always had political parties functioning on the basis of the general law on associations. For example, the MNC [Congolese National Movement] and the MPR have functioned without the need to have a specific law drawn up. Why do we need a new law now for the type of association represented by political parties?

What particular problem was that law on political parties trying to solve? What does that law contribute to the organization of political life in Zaire? Why have most of the nation's political parties and living forces condemned that law? Because it is hurtful to the people. It is libticide—that is, it is against democratic freedoms. I assure you that the only purpose of that law is to sanction political parties so as to give the MPR more than its due. It is a ploy by the chief of state to hamper the establishment and operation of political parties that might give the MPR too much competition. That is an anti-democratic and unconstitutional initiative.

I would also like to point out to you that that law has wound up destroying the credibility of the Legislative Council, which reluctantly approved it. It is an unjust, unconstitutional, and antipeople law that does not deserve to be respected. It is everything but a law. And respect for such a law is harmful to our country and our people.

All the opposition parties—and there are over 60 of them—have decided that they will never apply for approval, never pay the 5-million-zaire bond, and never participate in the primary elections. The legal status of the political parties is not a routine matter. The chief of state, who is responsible for handling routine matters, must not occupy himself with political parties. He is not the one. Because he supposedly resigned on 24 April 1990 when he lost his main position as chairman of the MPR.

[ELIMA] But don't you realize that your action may not succeed? Aren't you engaged in a rearguard action? Do you believe that the chief of state will reconsider his decision?

It Will Be 'Mobutu Democracy'

[Yoko] It is possible that after 18 October 1990, the government will publish its list of approved political parties and prohibit all the others from operating on the grounds that they are violating the law on political parties. If that is what happens, all the opposition parties will find themselves outside the law. Only the MPR and the Common Front of Nationalists [FCN] will be able to operate. That will be Mobutu democracy, and the people as a whole will be in the opposition.

The chief of state will then have made his own situation worse, and it is already difficult. He will not have solved any of his major political problems. He will go into the primary elections with those two parties, win the elections, and then declare the MPR and the FCN the only political parties in Zaire, but they will have no Zairians in them. The deterioration in Zairian living conditions will continue, and the country will still not be governed because the people will continue to refuse to obey rulers who have lost their legitimacy and the people's confidence.

[ELIMA] But when you get right down to it, who has that legitimacy?

[Yoko] I repeat that it is the political parties.

[ELIMA] But how do they get it?

[Yoko] Apart from elections, the people express themselves through the political parties, which guide them. And since the chief of state said at his press conference that there were more than 60 of them, two or four of those parties cannot possess all the legitimacy themselves—even though the president of the republic said that four political parties had emerged: the MPR, the UDPS, the PDSC [Christian Democratic and Social Party], and the FCN. We know that he did not take into account the real situation out in the field. He was not aware of actual developments in the country's political situation. He relied on the incomplete reports submitted by his services concerning the political parties. He is still the guarantor of national unity, the security of persons and property, and the continuity of institutions. So he must listen to his people, and then he will not be deceived.

We Will Defend Democracy Beyond 18 October 1990

Incidentally, I want to say here that the fight we are engaged in is not a rearguard action. The opposition parties have drawn up a strategy for defending democracy beyond 18 October 1990. But we would like to see the chief of state give concrete evidence of his bad faith until 18 October and publish the list of the parties he has approved.

The president of the republic must know that the people have never lost a war permanently. What we will lose if we are not approved on 18 October 1990 is a battle. The people are always right, and they always end up being right. Moreover, they have already refused to work under the leadership of rulers whose morality they challenge.

They may continue to disobey unjust laws that are imposed on them by certain of their representatives. I do not think a real patriot can wish to see our country continue to deteriorate so that he can satisfy his personal and illegitimate ambitions.

The chief of state acknowledged that what he announced on 24 April 1990 had come to him from God. But that God, which he hid from us, is the people. The people are stronger than anything else, and they will survive everything. One cannot say that the chief of state was mistaken on 24 April 1990 following his public confession. He dissolved the Second Republic. The people with whom he was in "collusion" told him no. It is the people who must tell him what the third republic will be like, not the other way around. And we are going to help dissolve the Second Republic for good and bring about the birth of the third republic—a democratic republic. That republic will not be built according to the wishes of the chief of state, but according to the wishes of the Zairian people.

Over the past 25 years, the chief of state has delivered every possible kind of speech. The result is that Zaire has become a country more inundated with fine speeches than any other country in the world, but none of it has done any good.

The country is flat on its back: Zaire is in danger. We are therefore a people in danger, and failure to assist such a people is more than a crime.

[ELIMA] You said in your joint statement that the country was emerging from 25 years of dictatorial government. Do you believe that what you describe as an autocratic regime can easily switch to democracy overnight?

[Yoko] It is easy to pass from a dictatorial regime to a democratic system. The people have never stopped hoping for change. To give an example, the privately owned press has made tremendous progress in less than four months using the same human, material, and financial resources. Today Zaire is one of the best informed countries in Africa thanks to the written press. And if the MPR opens up national radio and television tomorrow, our entire people will participate in democratization. As soon as the people are convinced that they are the ones governing the country in the interest of all its children, they will go to work and produce wealth, which they will share equitably among Zairian men and women.

[ELIMA] In your view, democracy remains the least bad of all political systems. Does this mean that it appears to be the miracle remedy for all of Zaire's illnesses?

Democracy the Ideal System

[Yoko] Yes, democracy is the only system that does not deceive the people. It is not a system run by an oligarchy, much less by one individual. Democracy means that the people live for themselves, work for themselves, and save

for themselves. The fact that their lives are their own is in fact the greatest motivation they can have.

[ELIMA] That all sounds wonderful. But is there no danger?

[Yoko] There is no lack of danger, that is true. Democracy may be taken over and confiscated by the MPR, and if that happens, it will turn against our people. At that point, the regime will change and become dictatorial again. But as long as democracy exists, it is the people who will reign because there will be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. It is the latter who will control the leaders because they will have appointed them to the posts they occupy.

The MPR confiscated national sovereignty from the people by stating in the Constitution that power issued from the MPR, which was said to be the only source of legitimacy. What usurpation!

[ELIMA] It is said of the Zairian opposition that it has cold feet and is unorganized. What do you say about that?

[Yoko] That is a dramatic question you are asking. The opposition has never had cold feet in the tropics. It is not as cautious and hesitant as people may say. It is very well structured. In less than five months, it has asserted itself and now represents the Zairian people.

It has acquired a legitimacy conferred by the people. In five months, it has succeeded in shifting legitimacy from the government camp to its own. The opposition considers itself to be the sum of all the living and democratic forces in Zaire. Despite intimidation and threats on the part of the government and the methods of corruption it uses, all the political parties established after 24 April 1990 have joined the opposition. That is a great success, and the cartel wants to head the government and the country because the opposition has become the biggest political force in Zaire. It is through the cartel that the people are going to change the political system. That, I think, is the main result since 24 April 1990 as far as the people are concerned.

I myself am convinced that the Zairian people are in the process of achieving their second liberation following the liberation from Belgian colonization. The people liberated themselves from the MPR's dictatorship on 24 April 1990.

We Have a Challenge To Accept

We are, therefore, a political group in favor of democratization. I want to tell you this, reporter: our struggle consists of helping the people rehabilitate themselves quickly because they deserve it and they have the means to achieve it. They must no longer rely on the leaders whom they have spit out: who harass them, paralyze them, and starve them. We are a force for democratic replacement through the mobilization of our people.

In any event, we have a challenge to accept, a historic mission to carry out, and a great nation to straighten out and modernize. We cannot fail to succeed, because the people are with us.

[ELIMA] As chairman of the Democratic Convention for Development and spokesman for the cartel of opposition parties, aren't you interested in the economy?

[Yoko] I must tell you that the economic situation we are experiencing is pitiful, and we are ashamed to be one of the poorest countries in Africa. The national product per capita is just above that in Chad. But Chad has few natural resources and is in a permanent state of war, while Zaire is a scandal in the true sense of that word from the geological, agricultural, and ecological points of view. It has been at peace since 1964. But its economic situation is disastrous. Poverty is obvious. Begging has become widespread. The workers are living just as miserably as the unemployed. The production apparatus has stopped. Basic infrastructures are dilapidated. The roads have deteriorated and become impassable. Telephone and postal communications are chancy. Wages are the lowest in the world. In short, the situation is more than rotten.

[ELIMA] But doesn't each of us share the responsibility for that situation?

[Yoko] How can you say that? Considering that everything was decided solely by the "enlightened guide," there is, legally speaking, no joint responsibility. During the 25 years of the Mobutu regime, I myself have never known anyone who was responsible for a particular sector.

[ELIMA] But how can things be straightened out?

[Yoko] The magic formula I propose to you is that we hand the budget over to the nation.

[ELIMA] Who controls that budget now?

[Yoko] You do not know? It is President Mobutu. It is he who manages the budget—manages the country's resources. The budget must be complied with so there will be enough funds to begin rehabilitating production infrastructures and establishing a wage scale consistent with the minimum needed for existence. The budget must also be realistic and include all revenue estimates.

Currency Must Be Part of Convertible Zone

[ELIMA] Can we talk about the Zairian currency?

[Yoko] Because of the monetary policy in effect in this country, the situation in our economy, the printing of paper money, and the ordering of tons of banknotes, nothing can function. The zaire has become just a scrap of paper. I would like to see the zaire made part of a convertible monetary zone rather than continue to have a national currency that is increasingly becoming a worthless piece of paper and that makes continued despoilment of private savings possible.

Democratic Transparency Will Help the People

To go back to what I said earlier, the country needs to be guided on the economic level by a neutral and competent government giving evidence of its morality. Such a government can change the course of things. It will have to render an accounting to the people, who will judge it. Because it is the people who own the nation's assets. I believe that democratic transparency will help the people exercise control and vigilance with respect to their rulers and to punish the latter, if there is dereliction of duty, by removing them from office or not renewing their mandates.

In conclusion, I would like to remind national public opinion of a French proverb that says this: he who does not prevent something, sins. In other words, it is a sin not to prevent something if you are in a position to do so. In the case before us here, it is the chief of state who is sinning, because he knows very well that he can get the country's political, economic, and social situation moving again. He knows that the situation is growing worse. He knows that he is the one who must get it going again. He still holds the key to the solutions. But he is allowing a situation that is further destroying the country to continue to exist.

We ask him as a patriot to assume his responsibilities by handing control of the government over to the opposition cartel so that the latter can assume its responsibilities and satisfy the expectations of the Zairian people.

* Paper Endorses Abolishing Information Ministry

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27-28 Sep 90 p 7

[Text] The political families making up the opposition are unanimous concerning future information policy: the Ministry of Information should be abolished and replaced by a "high audiovisual council" whose membership would be divided equally among representatives of the political parties, jurists, and journalists. This is said to be one of the most important items that the national conference might debate. At any rate, the minister of information and press and the chairman-general administrator of the OZRT (Zairian Radio and Television Service) have already made so many political enemies that they will not be able—and this is indisputable—to regain a scrap of credibility with the parties. Except, obviously, those parties existing within the sphere of influence of the MPR [People's Movement of the Revolution].

Over the past several months, an unhealthy and rotten atmosphere has come to exist in the OZRT. Last May, a group of journalists (the majority, incidentally) sent a memorandum to the president of the republic, with a copy to the minister of information, in which they denounced the constant violations of conscience to which they were being subjected, the obligation to wear the badge of the former party-state in front of the cameras and, in short, the duty to behave as though "after 24 April is the same as before 24 April."

We all know the response to that petition: all the signers without exception were ostracized. One of them, a brilliant reporter attached to the presidential press office, was simply banished to the administrative position of assistant director of SEVOZA (Training Studio of the Voice of Zaire). Others were banned and disappeared from the TV screen.

Pogrom

That episode aroused general indignation, and the government's only response was to retreat into the silence of an embarrassed dog, its tail between its legs. The prime minister of the transitional government, Lunda Bululu, artfully bolted for cover and, in Parliament, evaded the question specifically asked on that subject by deputy Kudura Kasongo, himself a former commentator on foreign politics for the OZRT.

In fact, it was learned later that instructions issued at the highest levels of government had put the minister's mind at ease. It seems that the task is to be continued and even brought to completion. This has been confirmed by a member of the editorial team: "The brother-in-law was asked to inform those who are unaware of it that the situation is still well in hand and under control."

Thus strengthened by that support, the minister has taken personal charge of the pogrom. Naturally, friends and other good buddies active in the "well-disposed" parties are not being harassed. But employees who are sympathetic to or even express opinions favorable to those political groups now having a hard time of it in the government are being treated roughly. This applies especially to supporters of the UDPS (Union for Democracy and Social Progress), the PDSC (Democratic and Social Christian Party), the Patriotic Front, and the PRI (Party of Independent Republicans).

It seems, however, that the chief targets are the members of the Patriotic Front. In 10 days, two OZRT employees, including the "Salongo" troupe's famous actor Ndungi Mambimbi, alias "Masumu Debrinde," alias "De La Pente," have had their labor contracts suspended for "violation of the law on parties." [sentence as published] Ndungi Mambimbi's brilliant speech at N'Sele during the election campaign has apparently not been forgotten.

During the debate sponsored by the FDD (Forum for Democracy and Development) on the topic "Basic Freedoms: What Guarantees?"—held at the Intercontinental Hotel on Friday 15 September—attorney Kinkela Vikan-Sy, secretary general of the Patriotic Front, publicly condemned and denounced the inquisitorial practices of the minister of information and the chairman-general administrator of the OZRT: "We are perfectly aware, for example, of the many visits by a highly placed official from the service to Djelo-Binza, and we know that he is one of the press advisers to the former party-state."

Kinkela's revelations concerning the martyrdom undergone by "Masumu Debrinde" aroused the audience.

Many participants said they were ready to sign a petition supporting the actor and even to organize a protest march to demand a reversal of the decision to fire him.

Cleansing the Augean Stables

It is no accident that all the opposition groups are condemning the witch-hunt in the OZRT. For his part, one of the deputy chairmen of Ileo's party said: "Commenting on the Sunday sermon in the offices of the OZRT has become very dangerous." It is said that doing so would mean "violating" the OZRT's nonpolitical character.

It seems, therefore, that the response to the campaign of inquisition has been considerable, although reactions are still mixed. According to sociologists, the fact that there is now an almost general preference on the part of television viewers for the satellite broadcasts of TV5, CFI, Eurosport, and the CNN (in the case of those understanding English) must already be regarded as a negative reaction. It is an indication that they reject the content of the OZRT's programs.

One of the participants in the seminar on the topic "Press, Democracy, and Its Responsibilities in the Face of Zaire's Future," which was organized by a wave of the magic wand in Goma last 13 September, commented: "We were given a generous thrashing by Ngongo. There was no democratic debate. Nothing seems to have changed."

Getting back to the "hysterical" reference to the law on parties, a renowned jurist who spoke on condition of anonymity said: "It is simply ridiculous to refer to a law in which they themselves do not put much faith and which they know will end up sooner or later in the dustbin of our national disgraces."

Radio and television are media operated by a state monopoly. As such, they are the social property of all the people. Confiscating them for the benefit of a single person or a single group is antidemocratic and illegal. That being the case, are we to think that those parties intending to see to it that the "Augean stables are cleansed" are wrong?

* Government Criticized for Making Wrong Moves

91AF0107A Kinshasa ELIMA in French
8-9 Oct 90 pp 1, 9, 12

[Article by Essolomwa Nkoy ea Linganga]

[Text] In a meeting last Friday chaired by Prime Minister Lunda Bululu, the Council of Ministers again gave proof of the government's inability to attack fundamental problems and manage the transition in a responsible manner. In any case, that is the impression given in looking at most of the issues debated during the course of the meeting, which in light of the assessment made to the press by the council's spokesperson, appear to be merely

denials and clarifications rather than contributions to the effective functioning of the affairs of state.

In effect, except for the discussions involving evaluation of the preliminary budget for 1991, the fight against erosion, and privatizing the management of public sport facilities, the remainder was comprised of desperately hurried denials and clarifications.

Such was the case in the allusion made during discussion of the Lubumbashi campus massacre. On that issue, the council's spokesperson said that the government, informed through statements made by a Zairian currently traveling abroad of the existence of mass graves associated with the events of the night of 11-12 May 1990, will ask that person upon his return to provide all relevant information on the case.

In fact, the government wanted to speak to Independent Republican Party (PRI) President Mr. Nguz A Karl-I-Bond, who when en route to the United States from Europe two weeks ago, told the Belgian press that he knew the location of the mass graves where the bodies of the student victims in the Lubumbashi killings had been thrown.

The government's urgency in wanting to request a statement from Mr. Nguz on this affair cannot but be a surprise, when it is well known that even five months after these sad events nothing has yet been done to come to a decision on the trial of Koyagialo and his accomplices, even though its "imminent" commencement had been announced with a great deal of publicity.

Thus people like Mr. Mbula Matoka Hubert, a.k.a. Bolamba, who boasted publicly of participating in the Lubumbashi events, have never been approached to provide the government with "all relevant information on this case." Can Nguz A Karl-I-Bond's testimony possibly be more urgent than that of Bolamba? Especially when logically all eventual testimony cannot but complete and enrich that which is most essential, i.e., the still-awaited trial.

It thus appears that the government is merely trying to intimidate the PRI president, one of the possible Zairians who could be president, who have declared their candidacies for the country's supreme office and who dare to remember in a timely fashion that in Zaire, the office of President of the Republic is the private fiefdom of no one.

Thus in order to reestablish the complete truth about the Lubumbashi massacre, the government should be frank, rather than complaining and uselessly twisting and turning, sometimes emitting ill-conceived denials but more often a guilty silence.

To that end, Nguz A Karl-I-Bond should be left alone before beginning the trial of the leaders of the Lubumbashi killings.

As if to relieve the fear, that pernicious disease injected into the Zairian people by the Second Republic, the

government has denounced what it calls "recourse to violence promoted by certain political and ecclesiastical groups as a means of resolving social and political problems." While promising to "take the necessary measures to preserve social harmony," the government has asked the Zairian people to not let themselves stray from what it believes, according to its false logic, to be "the path that has led so many families to the dawn of our independence."

That, in fact, is a notion that the authorities, seriously discomfited by the people's certain focus of attention on the problems of the day, would like to promote in order to designate scapegoats for the terrorist activities already envisioned by certain extremists of the defunct MPR [People's Movement of the Revolution], who continue to gravitate around the Chief of State. However, the root of the problem is that certain Zairian political groups, frustrated by the authorities' arrogance and indifference in the face of the people's misery, are asking the people to free themselves of fear and go out into the streets to reclaim their rights. And until now, no political group has incited the people to engage in violent activities against the authorities. The government thus needs to end the provocations and other threatening maneuvers aimed against our productive forces, who because they stand up for their rights, which have been ridiculed for so many years, have contented themselves until now with going out into the streets peacefully, in accordance with the recommendations on the part of the political parties who peacefully ask that their rights be respected.

The Economy: An Unjustified Satisfaction

In the economic sphere, the Council of Ministers spokesperson expressed the government's satisfaction at the "efforts undertaken to strengthen the budget and support production, thanks to which the rate of inflation and the rate of decline in the exchange rate are lower than last year during the same period." For our part, we think that the government's statement is to be taken with a grain of salt, since all the technical resources available and the latest statistics to date seem to indicate the opposite. In fact, after a honeymoon in 1989 resulting from a strong injection of revenue after concluding a new agreement with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, Zaire entered a disquieting phase of economic depression just after announcing the democratization process in the country's political life. This was the result of an administration racked by financial chaos and anarchic spending of revenue. It should be emphasized that this disastrous administration resulted in a deficit of about 100 billion zaires by the end of last August, compared to only 20 billion the end of last April, that is, on the eve of the country's democratization process.

And the worst thing is that the budget deficit, now approaching 150 billion zaires, will be 200 billion by the end of this year even though the revised budget anticipated only a 55-billion-zaire deficit for fiscal year 1990. Add to that the fact that the Zairian currency's depreciation is worsening daily and the gap between the parallel

market and the official exchange rate between the dollar and the zaire is over 50 percent, compared to the government's goal of 10 percent.

In light of these facts and figures, one can be permitted to say that the government should not glorify itself with false performances aimed at throwing sand in people's eyes.

Salary Increases, a Sword Thrust in the Water

In order to come to an agreement with striking government workers by January 1991, the government has proceeded to increase salaries proportionally, raising the monthly salary for a clerk from 7,000 zaires in April to 12,000 zaires the following month, to 25,000 zaires in August, to 40,000 zaires in October 1990. Although the authorities flaunt a certain cynicism, the Zairian people will not let themselves be abused by these ridiculous raises, which will be eaten away within a few weeks by increased fuel prices, with their insidious propensity to drag down all sectors of the national economy, and by the galloping inflation that is currently sustained by abuse of the printing press. At this rate, it could well be asked what the clerk's 40,000 zaires will be worth at the end of the year, when it is well known that even last year the minimum salary called for by the government workers union was 156,000 zaires per month.

Thus, instead of rejoicing, the government should be ashamed of the latest salary increases, which look like an unfortunate sword thrust into the water.

14 October 1990: A Celebration That Will Further Impoverish Zaire's Youth After lying to the people by stating that the imminent crisis the Zairian oil sector will experience is merely due to the prevailing conflict in the Persian Gulf, informed observers say that at the end of last Friday's meeting the government added that the crisis is also due to the country's revenue shortages.

The government's decision, therefore, to reduce imports as well as oil consumption could appear to the public eye to be the result of a rational and responsible administration of public affairs.

Unfortunately, that willingness to do well will, as usual, inevitably be compromised by extra-budgetary political expenditures. And this time it will involve enormous expenses next 14 October for organizing festivities marking President Mobutu's 60th birthday, in Lisala.

As is well known, according to a tradition imposed by the defunct party-state, each year this date marks Zairian Children's Day. It is the view of the whole world that this should no longer be the case in a democratic regime. Especially since for several years, this day has been a pretext for venerating a "Guide" who paradoxically seems to no longer be concerned with the situation of children in this country, children who in no way deserve to be sacrificed—considering the mediocre conditions in which they evolve from birth to the theoretical end of their studies, passing through a family environment characterized by misery and malnutrition.

Given the country's current crisis, the government should have made some modest economies in the resources it still possesses so as to resolve a few of the social problems the people face. Problems including, in order of importance, improved salaries for the parents of numerous Zairian children, rehabilitation of several school facilities fallen into ruin after their initial luster, the construction of new schools and supplying them with teaching materials, the construction of hospitals, the state taking responsibility for certain costs, etc.

Instead, this year the authorities envision spending enormous sums of money in the 14 October celebration for which plans call for constructing a new palace and luxury villas in Lisala (President Mobutu's birthplace), building wide runways for large cargo planes to the detriment of the roads necessary for development of that isolated zone, and purchasing and storing several tons of provisions for ensuring the subsistence of prestigious guests and the 3,000 children who will come from all countries of the world to participate in the celebration.

Taking into account the timing and the unfortunate effects that these expenses cannot but fail to have on the budget, it is no exaggeration to say that the 14 October 1990 celebration will further impoverish Zaire's children. And that would be a new counterperformance on the part of the Lunda Bululu government who, as we know, sees only the spotlights.

True Political Pluralism: Go All the Way

The weekend decision of the president of the republic to implement true political pluralism to replace the three-party system envisioned by the transition government's constitution will not be a surprise to anyone. At least not the Zairian people and informed observers, who over the last ten months have become accustomed to following Marshall Mobutu's inconsistent decisions, contradictory stances and numerous about-faces.

No one, therefore, was surprised to see the Chief of State return again to his old habits and hurriedly call together a body completely invented from scratch and lacking any legal juridical existence, but serving merely to rubber-stamp his own personal decisions.

This time he gathered around himself a group of top officials who remind one of the "celebrated" body constituting the Second Republic, to discuss all the decisions he had made up to that point and that he therefore confirmed with disconcerting solemnity after last 14 September's press conference in Goma. Six months after the announcement of the democratization process, last Saturday's presidential decision proved that Zaire has made absolutely no progress in that direction. This is quite simply because he desires at all costs to prevent

organization of the national conference that would then constitute an irreversible step in the installation of a true democracy among us.

The president of the republic should thus know once and for all that political pluralism is not a gift that it is his pleasure to offer to the people. It is, rather, the end result of a process that has shaken several countries around the world before bursting into Africa and Zaire.

In addition, in order to preserve the chances of this project's success in our country and to effectively install the Third Republic on a constitutional basis founded on a national consensus, the chief of state should accept the immediate convocation of a national conference bringing together all the political organizations and the active forces of the nation.

It would be during the course of this great meeting that the new options governing national life would be defined, which primarily involve:

1st: The institution of a monocameral or bicameral parliament in which competence and representativeness would be the objective measures of success, rather than the criteria that are as much a product of fantasy as they are unrealistic, such as the backing of candidates, level of militancy and loyalty to the Chief;

2d: The installation of a presidential, semipresidential or parliamentary regime according to the choice of the participants who would also determine the duration of the presidential term and all the necessary conditions for ensuring the transfer of power;

3d: The creation of a system either strongly centralized, as at present, decentralized, or federalized;

4th: The development of a new constitution that would also be the articulation of a national consensus and the expression of the most profound aspirations of the people;

5th: The organization on the part of a responsible prime minister of a neutral and representative transition government comprising all political leanings;

6th: The replacement of the governors and cadres installed by the MPR, with a neutral administration, to guarantee the credibility of the elections; 7th: Economic recovery through the reestablishment of production and clear accountability in the administration of the large public and parastatal enterprises.

In light of all these options, which cannot be completely determined except within the framework of a national consensus, it appears that a national conference remains a strict necessity, to which the entire national community, including President Mobutu, should conform.

Kenya

President Moi, France's Pelletier in Talks

EA0711134290 Nairobi Domestic Service in English
1000 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today at State House, Nairobi, held discussions with the French minister for development cooperation, Mr. Jacques Pelletier. The minister briefed President Moi on his mission to eastern Africa concerning the current problems in Rwanda. He told President Moi that France and the European Economic Community held the view that there should be a regional conference to tackle the issue of refugees and its attendant problems.

President Moi said he was prepared to participate in such a conference provided it was frank and serious in resolving the issue, including the invasion of Rwanda. Also present at the talks was the minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Mr. Wilson Ndolo Ayah.

Former Minister's Brother Reportedly in U.S.

EA0711221490 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] The government has launched an investigation into the disappearance of Barrack Mbajah [brother of late Foreign Affairs Minister Robert Ouko] and his reported presence in the United States. The deputy leader of government business and minister for energy, Nicholas Biwott, told Parliament today that it was too early to speculate on how Mbajah had left the country. He called on the country's security to be extra vigilant and look out for criminals who would escape and seek refuge in foreign countries on the pretext of being refugees.

Earlier, an assistant minister for information and broadcasting, Shariff Nassir, told KTN [Kenyan Television Network] that foreign embassies in Kenya had the urge to embarrass Kenya by helping criminals escape to their countries. He wondered why Mbajah had left the country when wananchi [citizens] expected him to assist them in finding out who killed the late Dr. Robert Ouko.

[Shariff Nassir] Such a man like Mr. Mbajah who is wanted very badly in this case—and he could disappear—and (?what we will) think about our enemies to come in the country? This is (?the) bad part of it, but the late Mr. Ouko, who was our beloved minister, who was loved by every citizen of this country plus the whole government, in his case we were thinking to hear more news, especially from his own brother who will give us more information on how his brother was killed. (?I was saddened) to hear he was running away, he was hiding somewhere, and at the end this morning to see in the newspaper that he was in America was very, very, very sad news.

Somalia

Agriculture Minister on Banditry, Food Supply

AB0611155090 Mogadishu Domestic Service
in Somali 1700 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Excerpt] The Somali Agriculture Minister Dr. Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein has said that the banditry in the country has greatly affected agricultural production. He said that bandits had been looting peasants' property, and this situation has made it difficult for peasants to receive the inputs they needed. The minister, who was briefing journalists today, said that to curb the situation the new government had placed a great priority on maintaining security, which was a prerequisite for developing the various social objectives such as food production, farming, health programs, the economy, and others.

Dr. Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein disclosed that the Ministry of Agriculture was now engaged in programs to enhance agricultural production, make farming land available to peasants, and assist small-scale farmers so that they could intensify their efforts, repay loans extended to them, and qualify for more loans. The minister spoke at length on the new government's program of action, saying that the interim constitution guaranteed for every Somali the right to form political parties, the right to (?vote), and the right to freely elect those who would lead the nation. It also provided for resolving the current crisis. [passage omitted]

Rebels Claim 24 Soldiers Defect to SNM Ranks

EA0711215890 (Clandestine) Radio of the Somali
National Movement in Somali 1600 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Twenty-four members of the dictator's armed forces, including senior officers, junior officers, and others, have deserted from the 21st Division and the Eighth Brigade and are now at one of the Somali National Movement [SNM] bases. Having considered the political regime in the country which persists in oppressing the Somali people, they decided to desert to the people's armed struggle against the regime. They include Colonel Mohamed Jama Madow, chief of the prison department of the 21st Division; Lieutenant Col. (Mohamed Dhuhulu), head of the payroll department of the Eighth Brigade; and Lt. Col. Jama Abdullahi Ilmi of the execution and punishment department of the 21st Division. [passage omitted] These former members of the conscript army have now been fully absorbed into the ranks of the SNM fighters.

Reportage on Prime Minister Visit to Saudi Arabia

WA0711081890

For reportage on the visit of Prime Minister Muhammad Hawadleh and his accompanying delegation to Saudi Arabia, including talks held with King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud on the sending of Somali troops to the Gulf, see the Arabian Peninsula division, Saudi

Arabia section of the 6 November Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Tanzania

France's Pelletier Meets President Mwinyi

EA0711195690 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service
in Swahili 0330 GMT 7 Nov 90

[From the press review]

[Text] The front page of UHURU shows a photo of President Mwinyi, who said yesterday that Tanzania was ready to take all necessary measures to effect a stable situation in neighboring Rwanda and solve the refugee problem. He was speaking with Mr. Jacques Pelletier, French minister for cooperation and development, who arrived in Tanzania yesterday afternoon for talks on the situation in Rwanda. He was expected to leave the country immediately after the talks. The photo shows President Mwinyi bidding farewell to Mr. Pelletier at State House after their talks.

Zanzibar Nine-Man Electoral Commission Named

EA0711211890 Zanzibar Domestic Service
in Swahili 1200 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Dr. Salim Amour, president of Zanzibar and chairman of the Revolutionary Council, appointed a nine-man electoral commission of Zanzibar. Comrade Ali Khamis Abdullah, who is also the speaker of the House of Representatives, will be the chairman of that commission. Its members are Comrade Muhsin Khamis Haji, Comrade Hasan Sa'id Mzee, Comrade Hamad Sa'id Muhammad, Comrade Zubayr Juma Mzee, Comrade Adani Sulayman Shambe, Comrade Salum Mbaruk, Comrade Khamis Shehe Musa, and Comrade Shirali Shamsi. Apart from its other responsibilities, the commission will supervise all election work and rule on election complaints.

Returnees From Kenya Advised to Register

EA0711103890 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service
in Swahili 1700 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Tanzanians who were recently expelled from Kenya and who did not register on arrival at the border on their way home have been advised to register at the nearest immigration office. Recently the Kenya Government expelled Tanzanian residents alleging they were there illegally and in contravention of the immigration laws.

The director of immigration, Comrade Ali Mnyika, said today that the exercise of registering the names of those who were expelled is aimed at enabling them to return to Kenya to collect their families and property left behind. The director of immigration, Comrade Mnyika, also urged those Tanzanians whose passports were torn by the Kenyan police when they were arrested to go to the

immigration offices where those passports were originally issued in order to identify their numbers and be registered again.

Meanwhile, there are reports that Tanzanian students who were studying in Kenya and whose parents were repatriated home, have also been expelled from school despite the fact they were soon to sit their final exams.

Uganda

French Cooperation Minister Pelletier Arrives

EA0811105490 Kampala Domestic Service in English
1700 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] The French minister of development and cooperation, Mr. Jacques Pelletier, has arrived in Uganda for a brief visit at the start of a six-nation African tour aimed at defusing a military conflict between the Rwandese Patriotic Front and the Rwanda Government. He was met at Entebbe Airport by the minister of state for foreign and regional affairs, Mr. Omara Atubo, the deputy minister, Mr. Katureebe, and the French ambassador to Uganda, Mr. (Gerard Yannick).

During his stay in Uganda, the French minister was expected to hold talks with President Museveni in an attempt to find a peaceful solution to the Rwanda crisis. The visit has been initiated by President Francois Mitterrand of France as a follow-up of the Belgian attempt to find a peaceful solution to the Rwanda crisis.

Speaking to newsmen at Entebbe Airport, Mr. Pelletier said he had come to evaluate the situation and gather information that will lead to a regional conference on the issue. He said the EEC is ready to assist resolve the refugee problem under the auspices of the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] in an African context. He said he will talk to President Museveni with a view to setting up an observer force rather than a peacekeeping force. Asked whether France would take some of the refugees who may opt to be resettled there, Mr. Pelletier said France has already enough refugees.

Mr. Pelletier is accompanied by the French presidential adviser on African affairs, Mr. Jean-Christophe Mitterrand. They were expected to hold talks with President Museveni this evening and, thereafter, leave for Kigali, Rwanda.

Meets With Museveni

EA0811110890 Kampala Domestic Service in English
0400 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Excerpt] President Yoweri Museveni has held talks with the French minister for development and cooperation, Mr. Jacques Pelletier, who called on him at State House, Entebbe. Their discussions have focused on the current situation in Rwanda. They reviewed the steps taken so far to resolve the problem and also exchanged views on possible solutions. The president and Mr. Pelletier

agreed on the importance of the cease-fire to be followed by dialogue between the Rwandese Patriotic Front and the Rwandese Government, as well as a regional conference to discuss the issue of the Rwandese refugees in the region. [passage omitted]

Hutu Refugees Refuse To Settle With Tutsis

EA0711181890 Paris AFP in English 1512 GMT
7 Nov 90

[By Epajjar Ojullu]

[Text] Mbarara, Uganda, Nov 7 (AFP)—Thousands of refugees from Rwanda's Hutu tribe who fled here after civil war erupted last month refuse to be settled with Tutsis who have been in Uganda for 30 years, refugee officials say. The Hutus fear "psychological torture" and persecution by the Tutsis, a relief worker who declined to be named said Tuesday.

Thousands of Tutsis poured into Uganda after tribal massacres in 1959, when the majority Hutus seized power from the minority Tutsis, Rwanda's traditional rulers, in the runup to independence in 1962. Many Tutsis have lived in refugee camps near the Rwandan border for the past 30 years.

Another 13,000 Rwandans have fled to Uganda since Rwandan rebels invaded north-east Rwanda on October 1 to topple the government of President Juvenal Habyarimana, officials of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said Tuesday. The number had previously been estimated at 14,000. The rebels, mainly Tutsi refugees based in Uganda, said they were fighting for the right to be allowed back to their homeland, but ironically their invasion has created a new refugee problem.

A UNHCR official said plans to move the new refugees, currently crowded in makeshift camps along the Rwandan border, to the Nakivali refugee settlement, 35 kilometres (21

miles) east of here, had been postponed "for the time being." The move had been scheduled for Wednesday.

Some refugees returned to Rwanda when they were told they would be moved to Nakivali. "We have been aggrieved by the decision by some refugees to return to Rwanda where they feel their lives are at the moment in danger," the UNHCR official said. Nakivali refugee settlement, a vast expanse of land, currently houses only 5,000 refugees, all Tutsis. Refugee officials say there is room for many more. "It is natural that the Tutsis in Nakivali should harbour ill feeling against us," said a 35-year-old Hutu teacher speaking on condition of anonymity. The Tutsis, traditionally cattle keepers, are generally taller than the Hutus, who are crop farmers. In the late 1960s Tutsi refugees in Nakivali launched an anti-Hutu campaign that almost erupted into violence. The Ugandan government quickly opened a new camp for Hutus.

Ugandan officials and UNHCR representatives are to meet in a few days to revise their resettlement plans, but there seems to be little room for manoeuvre at the moment. "I cannot see an alternative to Nakivali which has all the facilities—schools, health centres, water and above all adequate land for both the people and their livestock," a government official said, adding that refugees should not carry their political differences into Uganda. A UNHCR official said the Tutsi refugees who would have been anti-Hutu are now burning with a new political fervour. They say the rebels are fighting the Rwandan government to end sectarianism and bury the differences between the two tribes, who speak the same language.

The new refugees are living in areas only a stone's throw from the border, despite international regulations requiring them to be housed at least 80 kilometres (50 miles) away. Relief organisations are finding it hard to cope, and want them to be resettled away from the border, where they could quickly become self-reliant. UNHCR and Ugandan authorities are providing maize meal and beans, while the British-based charity Oxfam has distributed blankets and tents, and Medecins sans Frontieres of France has vaccinated many refugees against measles and meningitis.

De Klerk Warns ANC Against Military Buildup*MB0811070190 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 8 Nov 90*

[Text] The state president, Mr. F. W. de Klerk, says South Africa expects the ANC [African National Congress] to take an unequivocal stand against everything that does not accord with the search for a peaceful solution to the problems of South Africa. Speaking at Bethlehem, he said the ANC had to distance itself unconditionally from destabilization, boycotts, intimidation, and a military buildup.

President de Klerk said there was a clearly defined strategy of intimidation and undermining of local government systems, regional government, and self-governing states. He wanted to know who was responsible for these actions and their potential of far-reaching consequences. He said that by agreeing to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, the government and the ANC have bound themselves to finding peaceful solutions and to curbing intimidation and violence.

President de Klerk said the ANC should not and dared not to be involved in violence, preparation for violence or so-called mass destabilization actions. He said that he and South Africa expected deeds to match words and were waiting for unbridled elements in this country to be brought under control. He said the security forces would do their share but that security alone was not enough. The ANC and its allied organizations had to accept their obligations and live with them.

President de Klerk said that unless he received a satisfactory reply, he would certainly hold the ANC responsible. He said the real planners and fomenters of intimidation and misery had to be unmasked.

National Party Wins 7 Nov Randburg By-Election*MB0811043490 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2148 GMT 7 Nov 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 7 SAPA—The National Party [NP] won the Randburg by-election on Wednesday [7 Nov] by a majority of 8,913 votes, according to provisional results. NP candidate Mr. Marthinus van Schalkwyk polled 10,882 votes to the 1,969 votes of the Conservative Party's [CP] Mrs. Leonie Steele. The CP lost its deposit.

The percentage poll was 56.5 percent and there were 72 spoilt papers.

In the 1989 general election the Democratic Party's [DP] Mr. Wynand Malan won the seat with 8,481 votes. The National Party received 6,767 votes and the CP 755 votes in a 74 percent poll.

DP leader Dr. Zach de Beer announced several weeks ago that his party would not be defending the Randburg seat amid rumours that the NP and the DP were planning an election deal.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, the NP's Transvaal leader, at the outcome of the by-election result immediately challenged the CP to join the negotiation process. "If the CP wants to make a constructive contribution to South Africa, they should join the negotiation process and stop their petty party politics. South Africa doesn't like their style of politics and their racism. We challenge them to participate in the negotiation process."

CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht however said the by-election result indicated President F.W. de Klerk's support had declined.

He said there had been a substantial increase in support for the CP—a swing of over 10.6 percent since the general election of 1989.

Dr. Treurnicht said in national terms this brought nearly all of the Orange Free State into CP hands. This was a clear indication that there should be a general election to test the government's mandate for reform.

Victorious NP candidate Mr. van Schalkwyk said the result was a "very, very important sign from white South Africans to confirm the irreversibility of reform." He said the result confirmed the NP's important mandate with a message to the CP to join the negotiation process.

'Fiasco' for NP*MB0811044090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2243 GMT 7 Nov 90*

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Pretoria Nov 7 SAPA—Noted political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans described as low the percentage poll in the Randburg by-election on Wednesday [7 Nov] and said it was a "fiasco" for the National Party [NP], charging that the "massive" stayaway from the ballot box indicated voters had major doubts about the fast pace of reform.

The NP's Marthinus van Schalkwyk polled 10,882 votes as opposed to the Conservative Party's [CP] Mrs. Leonie Steele 1,969 in a percentage poll of 56.5.

"The low percentage poll in this by-election is in sharp contrast to last year's election which had 74 percent of voter turnout. The old excuse about traditionally low turnouts in by-elections does not hold true as statistics since the beginning of the century show that to be wrong. Therefore, it is clear to me that large proportions of voters, who the government assumes are enthusiastic and deeply motivated in their support for a new, reformed South Africa, are not yet ready to join that bandwagon," Prof. Kleynhans told SAPA in a telephone interview.

On the possible reasons for the voter lethargy, Prof. Kleynhans said President F.W. de Klerk had been perceived to have moved too fast with his reform initiatives.

"His campaign to inform and educate the electorate about the implications of these reforms by addressing hundreds of public meetings and the distribution of literature was not a success up to this point. The NP Department of Information has failed and they should look into this. The massive stayaway should be taken seriously. If not, it may have serious consequences for the government's reform programme. In purely statistical terms, the CP showed an increase of 10.3 percent. Coupled with the stayaway, the CP increase—especially in upper middle class Randburg—should be a matter of grave concern to the reformists," he concluded.

'Strong Vote' for NP

MB0811044690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2247 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Potchefstroom Nov 7 SAPA—The Randburg by-election result on Wednesday night was a "staggeringly strong vote" for the National Party [NP] and a boost for President F.W. de Klerk, University of Potchefstroom academics Donald J. Simpson and Professor Japie Spoelstra said.

The result was a "vast increase" in the NP vote compared to the 1989 election result, they said.

"On this result, without any 'adjusting', the NP would easily win a general election on the present or future delimitation and it would win a referendum 60/40 percent," they added.

The analysts estimated Democratic Party [DP] voters "have at about 83 out of 100 gone for the NP (in Randburg)."

They added: "This is a very good result for the National Party and a morale booster after the Umlazi debacle. The NP candidate is a genuine de Klerk policy man, a liberal by the standards of 1989. On the mandate issue, de Klerk has his mandate renewed at this by-election."

On the CP [Conservative Party] gain, the academics said although its vote in 1987 and 1989 was much less, most of the voters in those years had joined the two-way race and voted NP or for Wynand Malan, who previously held the seat for the NP before joining the DP [Democratic Party], rather than a "wasted" CP vote.

"(Thus) there was a masked CP vote in 1989. CP abstentions are probably less than 1,000 out of 10,000 in total," they said.

De Klerk Comments

MB0811080790 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0746 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Pretoria Nov 8 SAPA—State President F. W. de Klerk said on Thursday [8 Nov] the Randburg by-election result was a good sign for reform and gave the government thrust for what it wanted to attain.

Speaking at a press call with a visiting group of British MPs [members of Parliament] at the Union Buildings, Mr. De Klerk said the result had disproven the CP's [Conservative Party's] exorbitant claims.

However, he warned the CP still enjoyed 25 per cent support among the white electorate, and that the Conservative Party therefore had to be withstood "because the road they find themselves on is a dangerous road."

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha then quipped to the British MPs that Mr. de Klerk was speaking about the South African Conservative Party.

The MPs—members of the foreign affairs committee of the British House of Commons—met Mr. De Klerk on Wednesday [7 Nov] as part of their fact-finding tour of Southern Africa. Most of them are scheduled to leave South Africa on Friday [9 Nov] evening.

UK Parliamentarians Meet De Klerk, Du Plessis

MB0811123190 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1100 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Nine British politicians met State President de Klerk in Pretoria this morning.

The group including three former cabinet members will be in South Africa for a week to discuss British policy towards southern and South Africa. They arrived last Saturday [3 November].

The delegation is headed by Mr. (David Howell) a former British Conservative Party MP [member of Parliament] and includes four other members of that party and four Labor Party members.

They had talks with minister of finance, Mr. Barend du Plessis, this morning and will be seeing the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, this afternoon.

They also have to see the deputy president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, when he returns to South Africa tomorrow. They will also meet extraparlimentary groups including Inkatha.

Vlok Lifts Curfews; Unrest Designations Remain

MB0711133990 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1319 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Pretoria Nov 7 SAPA—Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok on Wednesday lifted the curfew on Old Crossroads, Lingulethu West and Khayelitsha. He said in Pretoria although the situation in these areas had improved, it had not yet stabilised sufficiently for him to lift his declaration of these areas as unrest areas.

Mr Vlok said the improvement of the security situation in the townships was directly attributable to the positive attitude and efforts of the majority of those involved and affected by the unrest regulations.

"The responsibility for eradicating tension and ensuring a climate of goodwill towards fellow residents now rests, to a great extent, with community leaders," said Mr Vlok. "I appeal to them to accept this responsibility, to fulfil the crucial role they have to play and to cooperate with the security forces in helping to defuse all confrontation."

Schwartz Reacts To Boerestaat Party Statement

MB0811105490 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1035 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 8 SAPA—Mr. Harry Schwartz, South Africa's future ambassador to the United States, has strongly disassociated himself from views expressed by Boerestaat Party [BSP] leader Mr. Robert van Tonder on Wednesday [7 Nov].

Mr. Van Tonder, referring to Mr. Schwartz' Jewish faith, welcomed the ambassadorial appointment, saying "Mr. Schwartz would have a greater understanding of the Boer's freedom struggle because of the magnificent 2,000-year freedom struggle of his own Jewish nation."

The Boerestaat Party was going to ask that Mr. Schwartz, once ambassador early next year, also explain the Boer nation's wish for independence to the U.S. President Mr. George Bush.

However, Mr. Schwartz replied in a strongly-worded statement to SAPA on Thursday [8 Nov] that his religion had nothing to do with his future office as ambassador. His function instead would be to "further the interests of all of South Africa's people, irrespective of race, colour, language, religion or sex. I go to Washington as a South African who has spent decades in opposition to apartheid and I have certainly not changed my views in this respect. I believe in democracy and human rights—one of such rights is freedom of religion. My religion has nothing to do with my office. I go as a South African, and the normal facilities of the embassy and consulates will, as in all other countries, be available to all South Africans, irrespective of their politics.

"This does not, however, involve the conveyance of information or documentation of a political movement to the President of the United States. I do not comment on whether Mr. Van Tonder's party is representative of the views of the people for whom he purports to speak."

Mr. Schwartz said the U.S. was a democratic country where any organisation would have the liberty to put its own views to the U.S. people. If Mr. Van Tonder wishes his case to be known in the U.S. it is his democratic right to try to do so, he cannot, however, expect me to do this. I will not further the cause of apartheid," Mr. Schwartz said.

He looked forward to a new democratic South Africa in which there would be a universal franchise and in which all will enjoy fundamental human rights and will be, and will feel, secure.

"I cannot associate myself with any impression that Mr. Van Tonder's views are those of South Africa or, for that

matter, of white South Africans. Courtesy and perhaps my future role as a diplomat prevents me from expressing myself in appropriate language on that portion of Mr. Van Tonder's statement which refers to the people of my faith. I would instead say that I have respect for the rights, culture, language and religion of others and that I strive that this will be the norm in the new South Africa," Mr. Schwartz said.

Winnie Calls For 'Intensification' of Action

MB0811042090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2034 GMT 7 Nov 90

[By Hilka Birns]

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 7 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] Deputy President Nelson Mandela has called for an intensification of the struggle on all fronts, his wife Winnie told an Actstop civic organisation meeting in Johannesburg on Wednesday night. Mrs. Mandela said her husband had telephoned her on Wednesday [7 Nov] morning from the house of ANC President Oliver Tambo in the United Kingdom and had asked her to convey the message to the meeting.

He had said the last stage in the struggle against apartheid would be the most difficult one, she said. Mrs. Mandela called for an intensification of mass action, including protest marches, stayaways and consumer boycotts.

"The suspension of armed action does not mean the suspension of mass action. Our right to march peacefully and withdraw our buying power will not be suspended. Mass action will continue in a post-apartheid South Africa."

Mrs. Mandela, repeatedly hailed as "the mother of the nation" by the meeting, called herself a "great Christian" and led the meeting in singing and dancing to what she described as "her favourite hymn," an Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, MK—ANC military wing] protest song. She felt compelled to look at her watch constantly, she said, as she was still not used to entering "lily white South Africa at this time of the night" without a valid pass.

On a more serious note, Mrs. Mandela welcomed a decision by the Transvaal Provincial Administration on Tuesday to cooperate with civic associations concerning residents' grievances. She called on residents, irrespective of their political affiliation, race or gender, to join and build strong civic associations, in order to make their demands heard at provincial level.

"However, we desire that the majority of civic members be ANC members. We at the ANC believe that the vast majority of South Africans support the ANC," she said.

Mrs. Mandela called for unity and collective effort among residents to avoid exploitation by landlords and/or authorities and to address residents' problems.

"Injury to one is injury to all. Eviction to one is eviction to all," she shouted, and the call was echoed by the crowd.

She said the ANC's Social Welfare Department had identified urgent problems facing illegal residents in Johannesburg's so-called "grey" areas. Most flat buildings were health hazards, where babies were being born with a low life expectancy, she said. Drug and alcohol abuse, child prostitution, overcrowding and homelessness were rife, she added.

Mrs. Mandela praised Actstop's achievements since its inception in 1987. "White racist landlords and city councilors have realised you are here to stay. Our people in the townships have realised you are not leaving the struggle, but are taking it to the white areas," she told a cheering crowd. She condemned landlords who were using the Group Areas Act to demand exorbitant rents, while neglecting even the most basic maintenance of buildings that were falling apart.

The call for intensified unified mass action was echoed by various other speakers, including SA [South African] Communist Party Central Committee member Essop Pahad, president of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (CAST), Moses Mayekiso, and Actstop President Sandile Ngidlana.

"We are fighting for power. Johannesburg is not the town of the Boers, Johannesburg is ours. South Africa is ours, because it's built on our sweat," said Mr. Mayekiso. "We are not going to stop the armed struggle or stop striking. We as civics have to support MK. We have to build the people's army in the streets of our country. We will support negotiations and our leaders by marching and striking. That's what democracy is all about," he added.

On the question of nationalisation he said the civics supported a mixed economy, where the surplus of the country's natural resources were used to provide housing and education. The return of privately owned "white" land to blacks was not negotiable, stressed Mr. Mayekiso.

The SACP's Mr. Pahad said the government of a new democratic SA would have to pay the rents of the homeless. He also condemned the government for asking white parents to vote on the opening of schools, while black parents were given no say in the matter.

Actstop President Sandile Ngidlana said residents should take advantage of empty white schools and white hospitals in their areas. He also demanded that cemeteries be opened to all races.

Country Begins To 'Monetise' Crude Oil Stockpile

MB0711114490 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 7 Nov 90 p 3

[Article by Zilla Efrat: "Govt Quietly Making Deals on Oil Stockpile—Report"]

[Text] SA [South Africa] has quietly begun to "monetise" its strategic crude oil stockpile, the international newsletter PETROLEUM INTELLIGENCE WEEKLY (PIW) reports.

It says that while reports of physical sales from the stockpile could not be confirmed, the state's Strategic Fuel Fund has entered into financing arrangements with oil traders and banks designed to give Pretoria some current or near-term return on future stockpile sales. The size of the stockpile has been estimated at between 60-million and 165-million barrels, says the PIW.

In addition, an end to the oil embargo on SA could pave the way for the country to become an oil hub of global importance.

"As the pace of political reform quickens, many in Pretoria and the petroleum sector expect that restrictions which have forced them to import oil secretly and sometimes at a high premium could be lifted in 1991."

The proposed liberalisation of SA's tightly controlled petrol products market could be a precursor to an explosion of investment in all sectors of the industry in SA and neighbouring countries.

The National Energy Council (NEC) was canvassing opinions of all players in the industry on the desirability of reducing government's involvement in the oil business and of modifying or dropping controls on domestic prices and margins.

The newsletter states: "The lifting of trade sanctions would make it possible for the Cape of Good Hope to be developed as a major export-refining centre."

While SA refineries had always discreetly exported some products to African and other markets, the report quotes a source as saying the opportunities likely to open up in the capacity-short continent are "tremendous". SA's pivotal position on trade routes from the Persian Gulf to the Western Hemisphere, and its proximity to Western producers, gave it a unique vantage point from which to market products to other African countries, South American and southern Asia. [as published]

About 25 percent of SA's 433,000 barrel a day refining capacity was surplus to current inland and bunker fuel demand. And Engen, the major owner of Mobil's refinery in Durban, planned to double distillation capacity to 130,000 barrels a day.

Engen expected to market part of the expanded output in Angola, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire and as far up the east coast as Kenya.

The PIW report adds that as the situation became more relaxed, there were clear signs government, which still controlled crude oil supply, was moving to cut acquisition costs.

It said that in recent arms-for-crude barter with Iraq and another Gulf producer, SA reduced the number of high-tech artillery pieces it shipped to the Gulf after having taken delivery of the full volume of contracted oil.

Government and NEC officials could not be reached for comment.

Police Confirm Use of False Plates on Vehicles

MB0711114190 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 7 Nov 90 p 2

[Report by Linden Birns: "False Plates Used on Some Police Cars"]

[Text] The SAP [South African Police] used false number plates on their vehicles in special circumstances, a senior officer said yesterday after repeated police assurances that this was not the case.

Several cases have been witnessed recently of police driving vehicles without number plates or with numbers that were believed to be false.

A senior police officer said yesterday the Commissioner of Police could, in special cases, authorise the use of official police vehicles with false registration numbers.

It has also been established that police, believed to be plainclothes members, use vehicles resembling minibus taxis.

A taxi association spokesman this week warned that police practice of using what appeared to be taxis was causing concern and exacerbating tensions between taxi associations.

This week, inquiries showed that the registration number of a minibus used by a man believed to be a policeman monitoring a gathering at the Sandton Clinic last week, was that of a stolen Ford Cortina.

Witwatersrand liaison officer Capt. Eugene Opperman said police would investigate the incident. He asked for sworn affidavits before the probe could be initiated.

Court Grants Trialists Bail; Postpones Case

MB0811122490 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1209 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Durban Nov 8 SAPA—Senior Communist party official Mac Maharaj and seven other accused in a terrorism trial were granted bail on Thursday [8 Nov] by the Durban regional court. The eight are facing charges of trying to overthrow the government by means of an armed uprising.

The eight are alleged to have conspired with Communist party leader, Mr. Joe Slovo and others, to seize power from the government by means of an armed uprising by a "peoples army."

Mr. Sathyndranath "Mac" Maharaj, 65, alleged overall commander of Operation Vula, was granted bail of R[and]80,000.

Mr. Sipiwe Nyanda, 40, was granted bail of R60,000. Mr. Raymond Lala, 32, Miss Catherine Mvelase, 25, and Miss Susanna Tshabalala, 30, were each granted bail of R30,000. Mr. Dipak Patel, 26, had bail fixed at R40,000.

Mr. Pravin Jandras Gordhan, 41, had bail fixed at R20,000 and Mr. Amnesh Munnessar Sankar, 22, had bail fixed at R5,000.

Mr. P. J. Blomkamp, for the state, said he had been instructed by the attorney-general to abandon opposition to bail. The amounts of bail were based on an assessment of the importance of the people to their organisation which was the ANC [African National Congress].

Mr. Z. Yacoob, for the defence, said they accepted the amounts of bail and the conditions of bail had been agreed upon. Mr. Blomkamp said it would be in the public interest if the case be adjourned to January so that applications by the eight accused for indemnity could be settled before the case came to trial.

The next hearing would be a provisional date on which a supreme court trial date could be arranged if necessary. The magistrate, Mr. T. D. Reed, fixed the bails at the agreed amounts. Conditions of bail are that the people report each day to the police station nearest to which they live. They may not change their addresses without notifying the police or leave the magisterial districts in which they live. They must also surrender all passports and travel documents including forged passports or documents which purport to be travel documents. The case was then adjourned to January 15.

'Massive' Power Failure Affects Western Cape

MB0811110790 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1048 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Cape Town Nov 8 SAPA—A massive power failure through Eskom [Electricity Supply Commission] has caused the whole western Cape to come to a standstill.

Trains came to a halt, while robots stopped functioning causing traffic disruptions. Firemen were rushing to various points to rescue hundreds of people trapped in lifts.

Eskom told SAPA it was a major power break outside De Aar affecting every major centre from Vredendal in the western Cape to Port Elizabeth in the eastern Cape. Eskom teams are on their way to De Aar to establish the exact cause of the break.

The Cape Town city council started their turbines, one on Signal Hill and the other at Steenbras dam to feed power into the grid which was restored briefly at 12.45pm [1045 gmt]. The powerbreak occurred at 11.50am [0950 gmt].

However, the council's effort was short-lived—about 30 seconds. The council said they were planning to start up the Athlone power station but this could take some time. They had no idea how long the cut would last.

An Eskom spokesman said the power break had had a domino effect tripping most minor stations from Port Elizabeth to Cape Town.

Mr. De Beer said the De Aar sub-station was one of Eskom's [Electricity Supply Commission] largest. A sub-station was not to be confused with a power station. A power station generates the electricity supply which is then re-directed and distributed by a sub-station, he said. "A sub-station is like a very large switch-yard with transformers."

Some towns could draw power from their own power stations, but often used Eskom instead. It would take several hours to convert to use of their own supply, Mr. Van Heerden said.

Residents Allege Police Complicity in Gang Crime

MB0811115690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1144 GMT 8 Nov 90

[By Thami Mkhwanazi]

[Text] Kroonstad Nov 8 SAPA—Residents of Maokeng, near Kroonstad, have accused the police of complicity in the reign of terror unleashed by two gangs in the [Orange] Free State township. The SA Police [SAP] public relations division in Pretoria on Thursday [8 Nov] denied that police had had a hand in the crimes in which six people are believed to have died since the beginning of the year.

Residents have based their allegation of police complicity on the fact that police have not been able to make a single conviction from arrested gang members and that police were allegedly seen transporting the gangs in the execution of their crimes. "Once they are released on bail, the gangsters continue their reign of terror on innocent people," said a resident.

The gangs, "the Canadas" and "the Three Million" have, according to residents, assaulted and harassed the community for no apparent reason. In the process they hijacked cars to carry out the crimes, residents claimed. It is alleged that in some cases residents retaliated with violence in self-defence.

Two vehicles, one belonging to a councillor and the other to a dry cleaning business, were burned a fortnight ago in the conflict, while two minibuses believed to have been ferrying gang members were set alight last Saturday [3 Nov]. The police in Pretoria confirmed that a taxi transporting members of "the Three Million" gang was gutted.

Several attempts have been made by community representatives to have the police stop the crimes. The last such a meeting was held on October 30 between a residents' delegation and a Capt. Coetsee, according to a community leader. "Three Million" gang was burned on Oct 28. [sentence as received]

Several gang members have been arrested, including the leader of the "the Three Million" gang who is facing several charges, according to police. The leader was released on bail. "Due to the fact that witnesses are

afraid to come forward, police are experiencing difficulties in finalising the investigation," the SAP public relations division said.

Police have denied transporting the gangs.

Bloemfontein Consumer Boycott Lifted 8 Nov

MB0811091490 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0859 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Bloemfontein Nov 8 SAPA—The six-week-old black consumer boycott in Bloemfontein was lifted on Thursday [8 Nov] morning after an agreement was signed and a forum established on Wednesday night to negotiate on further problems of mutual concern.

Salient points of the agreement are that the Bloemfontein city council will supply water in the squatter areas in Manguang and will test electricity meters that are said to be faulty. A [words indistinct] the problems with water and electricity and will advise on the fairness of the electricity tariff of R[rand]10 fixed charge and 8.3 cents per kilowatt hour—the standard charge for electricity supplied by the Bloemfontein city council.

Mr. Henri Lerm, mayor of Bloemfontein, said at the press conference to announce the end of the boycott on Thursday, what had been achieved was that through negotiations problems had been ironed out.

"If we want a better Bloemfontein we will have to work for it. The new South Africa will need a lot of goodwill and understanding. We have made friends. When you start talking and negotiating you come to the understanding and realisation of the needs of other peoples and sectors," said Mr. Lerm.

Mr. Gerald Gray, of the Bloemfontein Chamber of Commerce, said that the agreement signed on Wednesday night was acceptable to all parties. Problems could now be addressed under one forum. This would help the community and businesses of Bloemfontein.

"We are very active. We differ a lot, but at the end of the day I think we can come to agreements," said Mr. Gray.

He warned that certain parties would have to be brought closer to the forum. The first meeting of the forum will be on November 19.

Mr. Sekhophi Malebo, of the Mangaung Civic Association and chairman of the Consumer Boycott Committee, said it was an important victory that water would be supplied free of charge to the people's squares from noon on Thursday. Also that the electricity meters would be tested. All outstanding problems and demands would be addressed by the negotiation team which consisted of various fraternal organisations and mangaung residents, who would meet with the liaison committee of Bloemfontein west.

Mr. Malebo said that as a committee, and after thorough consultation with the fraternal organisations and the

people "on the ground," they had reached an understanding that some short-term demands had been met and had favourably considered the request of the business community to suspend the consumer boycott from noon on Thursday when the municipality started to run the water supply in the township.

He said people had been advised to pay electricity accounts. Other problems related to the payment would be addressed as the priority point on November 19.

Mr. Lerm said that a municipal team had moved in at 7 am [0500 GMT] to remove and replace about 230 electric meters that were said to be faulty. It was hoped that the work would be completed by 5 pm [1500 GMT]. The meters would be checked, which would take between 14 and 21 days. People would then be advised whether or not their meter had been faulty.

It was announced that within the next four to five months the provincial administration would be able to supply permanent water to the squatter areas. In the meantime, Bloemfontein has made two tankers available to distribute about 9,000 litres of water each day. The water will be available at points indicated by Mr. Malebo. Mr. Gray said water was not a luxury, it is a necessity, which is why the province would supply it.

NP's Group Protection Dying 'Quiet Death'

MB0711115990 Johannesburg THE STAR
in English 7 Nov 90 p 14

[Article by Peter Frabricius in the "Opinion" column:
"Nats May Be on the Level Now"]

[Text] The protection of political group rights—historically the keystone of National Party [NP] policy, and almost everybody else's despair—seems to be dying a quiet death in the constitutional think tanks of the Government.

Recent clues suggest rapid evolution in NP thinking has reached the point where groups may not figure as such at all in the constitutional proposals which the NP eventually puts on the negotiation table.

"Minority rights"—which in the NP mind have largely become universal democratic values such as the need for regular elections—will only be protected indirectly through political parties or through loaded majorities, it now seems.

As recently as August, a leaked Broederbond [secret Afrikaner brotherhood] document revealed that groups were still prominent in NP thinking.

The plan confirmed that the Government envisaged a two-chamber legislature with a lower "House of Representatives" elected by one man, one vote, on a common voters roll.

Groups voluntarily formed around common principles such as language, culture or religion—but not race—

would be equally represented in an upper house or senate along with representatives of 10 geographic regions.

Groups would exercise powers disproportionate to their numbers through various mechanisms, including a requirement that the senate approve all legislation—by a two-thirds majority—and through an "advice body" which would resolve deadlocks between the two houses, by a three-quarters majority. Only senators would serve on the advice body.

One representative for every group would also serve in a multiparty Cabinet, along with one representative for every region and seven members of the lower house.

Late last month the President's Council produced a similar constitutional blueprint, but it was probably stillborn.

In the meantime, the NP had announced its decision to open its ranks to all races and seek alliances with other parties.

Minister of Constitutional Development Dr. Gerrit Viljoen had revealed a "new vision"—that Afrikaner and white interests would better be protected in a multiracial alliance rather than in enshrined minority rights.

This might have been a signal that the group idea was dying.

At the Transvaal NP congress, another prominent member of the Government's high-powered ministerial committee on negotiations (known by its Afrikaans acronym MKO), Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, gave notice of a further dissolution of the group concept.

Asked how minorities would be defined, if not racially, he gave a surprising indication that minority groups were losing their definition in NP thinking.

He suggested that different minorities would form to protect different "minority values."

And the same person could belong to different "minorities" on different issues.

Yet another MKO member, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, had made the point more explicitly at a Foreign Correspondents' Association lunch, when he said "the days of group rights are gone."

He added that this meant any definition of group based on race, religion or culture, thus implicitly refuting the Broederbond and President's Council models.

Apart from a Bill of Rights, "party political participation" would be the best way for whites to defend their interests.

The same suggestion cropped up about the same time in a confidential British report.

The report described an NP constitutional blueprint almost identical to the Broederbond model—but with all explicit references to groups removed.

There would be only 10 representatives from each of the 10 regions, and 100 elected by parties on a proportional basis in the senate, it said.

Another significant omission from the new plan was the "advice body" to resolve deadlocks.

The other features of the constitution corresponded closely to the Broederbond plan. They were:

A bill of Rights that would, by protecting individual rights, protect languages, religions and cultures as well as human rights.

Devolution of power to 10 autonomous regions, (corresponding to the present economic regions) that would in turn devolve power to local councils.

Regions could differ in their official languages, education policies, public holidays and flags.

A 300-seat lower house based on one man, one vote, and proportional representation. Parties would need to win at least 3 percent of the vote to be represented.

A Cabinet of seven members elected from the lower house, one each from the 10 regions and one each from political parties. The idea would be to establish a Swiss-style grand coalition with shifting alliances on different issues rather than the British-style permanent confrontation between the Government and the opposition.

A largely ceremonial head of state elected by the legislature, and a rotating executive prime minister chosen from each of the Cabinet members in turn.

Legislation to be originated from either house with consensus being reached, as in the American system, by joint committees of both houses.

Changes in the constitution only by a two-thirds majority of both houses.

An independent high court to guard the bill of Rights and the constitution and to settle disputes between federal and regional governments.

An economic system based on free-market principles.

"What is emerging looks more like the United States constitution than any other model," the report concluded. "It would protect group rights without saying so."

It is not yet certain that this fully represents Government thinking. An important contrary indication was Dr. Viljoen's explicit stipulation at the October Cape NP congress that "minority groups must be constituted according to a new, acceptable and non-racial system of guidelines laid down in the constitution".

Has Dr. Viljoen already gone past this view? Or are there different schools of thought debating the issue inside the party?

This is not clear. But it seems likely that the NP—knowing that group protection is unacceptable to the ANC [African National Congress] and other major negotiating or potential alliance partners—is moving past this notion to prepare itself properly for competing for the first time on a level political playing field.

8 Nov Press Review on Current Problems, Issues MB0811130790

[Editorial report]

THE STAR

PAC 'Stumbles' on Racism Issue—Patrick Laurence writes in the "Opinion" column on page 28 of Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 8 November that while the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] has "set itself the task of ending the bloody and seemingly endemic strife in the black community" it may "unwittingly" foment "an anti-white sentiment as the binding force of black solidarity." Laurence refers to the chanting of "one settler, one bullet" at PAC President Mothopeng's funeral in Soweto. "At its best the PAC is a race-conscious movement, seeking to mobilise black people against racial oppression in the land of their birth under the slogan 'Africa for the Africans'. In its pristine form it is pro-Black without being anti-white." But the dividing line between "race-consciousness and racism is thin. They are separated by the thinnest of knife-edge it is easy to fall into the abyss of racism. The PAC, hopefully, has stumbled without falling."

BUSINESS DAY

Call for Black Leaders' Reappraisal—"Whether the target is black councils, sport or the economy, left-wing groups behave as if they are still fighting the P.W. Botha autocracy," declares Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 8 November in a page 10 editorial. The "aim seems to be to eliminate, and not even save the good pieces." What is needed now is a "reappraisal by black political leaders, and particularly by the ANC [African National Congress], of their approach to the critical factors inhibiting the country's chances of making up some of the lost ground—before decisions are reached on a future constitution. A start could be made with the kind of symbolic gesture an end to sanctions would mean."

DIE BURGER

ANC's Mbeki Rejects Mandela's View on Sanctions—"Compared to past views held by the ANC refreshing sounds on the South African economy have been heard from Mr. Thabo Mbeki, the organization's director of external affairs," says Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 2 November in a page 14 editorial. "At a conference of the South African Chamber of Business in

Johannesburg he said that for South Africa to grow it needs big injections of capital from abroad. He also stated that we cannot solve our problems without a strong and growing economy. Mr. Mbeki has mentioned these views in the past and has left the impression that he is one of the few ANC leaders with an understanding of the economic realities in the country. His views stand in sharp contrast to those of certain of his colleagues, especially the deputy leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela. At present Mr. Mandela is once again overseas pleading for the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa." "Does he not see that it will be an impossible task to build a rapidly developing South Africa on economic ruins, which will clearly be the result if Mr. Mandela and his followers get their way? Overseas investors should be encouraged on a large scale by improving the situation in the country. Thus far, Mr. Mandela has delivered no positive contribution. It is also in the interest of his people for the economy to improve." "I hope the day arrives quickly when the Mbeki view will form an integral part of ANC policy."

* Parents Complain About ANC Youth Camp

91AF0141B Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English
14 Oct 90 p 3

[Article by Sharon Chetty]

[Text] Furious parents have hit out at the organisers of a youth leadership camp, claiming it was used to "indoctrinate youths in ANC [African National Congress] politics."

The camp's programme included discussions on violence, racism and politics—and one of the participants was a convicted ANC activist involved in a terror bombing.

Sixty schoolchildren of all races, aged between 16 and 18, were invited to the weekend youth leadership development course by a committee of the Shell Science and Mathematics Resource Centre Educational Trust in August this year.

Now parents of some of the white schoolchildren and Dr Johan Steenkamp, Nationalist MP [Member of Parliament] for Umhlatuzana, have slammed the Shell Trust—sponsored by the multi-national oil company—"for allowing blatant left-wing politicians to brainwash the children."

And the trust has apologised to those parents who were offended by the discussions at the camp.

According to Dr Steenkamp, the parents objected to:

- The playing of an "ice-breaker" game that had the children divided into their four race groups and imitating racial stereotypes.

While the whites were referred to as Boers, they had to describe the Indian, black and coloured children as "lazy, uncivilized, violent, unintelligent, drunken, immoral and cunning."

- The presence of ANC member Greta Apelgren who was

charged and convicted for her role in the bombing of Durban's Magoo's Bar along with Death Row prisoner Robert McBride. Others were either ex-prisoners or former detainees. Parents say these claims were confirmed by "national intelligence" sources.

- There was a bias towards the ANC and no other political viewpoints were put forward.
- Discussions centred only on political topics, and various types of violence were discussed.
- Homeland leaders were described as "collaborators" and an anti-white, anti-SAP [South African Police], and anti-Inkatha viewpoint was propagated.
- The only religious element was a debate on whether churches should support violence by giving money to local "revolutionary" movements—meaning the ANC.
- The programme did not include any scientific or academic content.

Dr Steenkamp, representing the group of outraged parents, said the youth camp organisers "clearly formed part of the ANC's hidden agenda" and wanted to propagate left-wing politics.

"They have used the Shell Trust's name to further their own political ends which I find totally unacceptable," he told the SUNDAY TIMES this week.

Terry McCulloch, of the Shell Science and Mathematics Resource Centre, based at the University of Natal in Durban, said he had met with a "few" parents this week to discuss their grievances.

Mr McCulloch said a youth sub-committee which reported to an action committee had organised the course.

"The subject matter was set by the youth sub-committee with input from previous course participants and the course was led by people who were not on the staff of the centre," he said.

Mr McCulloch said he apologised to parents and pupils who had found the course offensive and said the centre was prepared to offer the affected students another course under different leadership.

He added: "The trustees had already taken certain steps and more would be taken to ensure that the high standards which have been a hallmark of the centre's work will apply to all programmes and courses run by or on behalf of the Shell Science and Mathematics Resource Centre Educational Trust."

Camp organiser John Paul said he was "surprised" at the complaints. "All the youth, including the white schoolchildren, thoroughly enjoyed themselves and said at the end of the weekend that they had learnt a lot," he said.

"They said that they were glad to have been shown different historical viewpoints and another side to our history."

"During the discussions everyone participated actively and put their viewpoints across strongly," said Mr Paul.

"We asked for the children's criticisms and alterations on the programme at the beginning, but nobody wanted it changed.

"Everyone agreed that the course was educational and was an eye-opener," Mr Paul added.

Social worker Miss Apelgren refused to comment.

* Ethnic Violence in Factories Worries Unions

91AF0141C Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 5-11 Oct 90 p 9

[Article by Drew Forrest. First paragraph is THE WEEKLY MAIL introduction]

[Text] Fuelled by the Reef violence, ethnic rifts are opening up on the shop floor. Worst hit is the National Union of Metalworkers, which accuses employers of showing little interest in defusing conflict.

On 4 September, 300 men wearing cloth headbands, shouting "Usuthu!" and allegedly backed by balaclava-clad whites, launched an armed raid on the Sebokeng hostel complex. In the ensuing carnage, 19 members of the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) died.

Ominously, two of the hostel blocks singled out by the vigilantes housed Usco and Samancor workers on a wage strike. Other residents were employed at Iscor's [South African Iron and Steel Corporation] Vanderbijlpark works, the scene of a strike ballot. The Usco strike was suspended the next day.

The hostel violence may be fading from the front pages but its legacy—profound sectarian bitterness and suspicion—lives on in the hostels and the workplace. "Overt township violence has been suppressed but the tensions are simmering below the surface," said Numsa [National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa] official Bernie Fanaroff.

The emergence of ethnic rifts poses a wholly new threat to the labour movement, whose sole strength lies in worker unity. The Transvaal violence represents a departure from the pattern in Natal, where ethnicity was not a factor.

Numsa reports that all Zulu workers, including members of Numsa and other Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] unions, have been driven from the Sebokeng hostel and are now living in a camp controlled by the police. At the same time, in certain Vaal metal plants—including Usco—union members are seeking to oust Zulu colleagues.

The union adds that either all Zulu or all Xhosa workers have quit certain factories in the region, or are sleeping on factory premises to avoid hostel conflict.

Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso reports shop-floor clashes between Inkatha-supporting and non-Inkatha workers at at least five plants, with unconfirmed

violence at others. Some members have quit the union, apparently in response to an Inkatha call for workers to shun Cosatu.

With its large hostel-dwelling membership on the Reef, Numsa has been especially hard-hit by factional strife, and Mayekiso warns that its survival as a force in the region is under threat.

A document flowing from a recent executive committee meeting of the union graphically underscores the disruption of union structures. Shop steward councils throughout the Rand are unable to meet or are not quorate [as published], while in the Katlehong local, severely affected by the fighting in nearby townships, three officials are unable to work—one is "being hunted and is in hiding."

In a sense, the strife-hit factories are a microcosm of the broader national picture, where recent market research showed negligible Inkatha support outside Natal. Numsa says supporters of Inkatha and its labour wing, the United Workers Union, are a small minority but are heavily armed, and that Numsa members are "demoralised and fearful."

Other Cosatu unions with migrant worker members, although not as badly affected, also report that the violence is filtering down to the workplace. National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union general secretary Sisa Njikelana says tensions are undermining the shop-stewards committee at the Johannesburg Hospital, and the Transport and General Workers Union also reports problems.

Particular attention appears to be focused on union leaders of Zulu origin. Two attempts have been made on the life of Nehawu president Robert Mkhize, active in the African National Congress [ANC] and the Reef peace initiative, while a hit squad recently invaded the offices of Cosatu's postal affiliate, Potwa [Post and Telecommunications Workers Union], seeking its general secretary Vusi Khumalo.

"The feeling appears to be that Potwa's national leadership has sold out the Zulu people," said Potwa vice-president Floyd Mashele.

He says that as grievances centre on national leaders, conflict is difficult to resolve within union structures. "Inkatha people say they won't be satisfied until Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi shake hands on television."

How can the unions repair the damage? One option is to discipline or expel members implicated in sectarian violence, but unionists warn that this could further alienate offenders, or remove them completely from the union's sphere of influence.

In proposals adopted at its recent National Executive Committee, Numsa suggested that workers had to be reunited around issues of common concern. As an immediate firefighting tactic, it proposed the formation of a

crisis unit, to monitor violence and intervene at hostels and factories through union locals.

And believing that violence will remain endemic as long as urban hostels exist—it describes them as a “focus for tribal feelings and forced recruitment”—the union has drafted ambitious plans involving the state and private sector for alternative migrant worker housing to be integrated into communities.

At the same time, the union is attempting to involve employers in efforts to defuse conflict—but complains of a poor response. Said Fanaroff: “We’ve been saying the same thing for years: as long as production is not disrupted, employers are not interested.”

Cosatu and the employer body Saccola [South African Consultative Council on Labour Affairs] have met twice on the violence and, according to Saccola’s Bokkie Botha, member associations are still debating the issue. Fanaroff says elements within Saccola see no role for the organisation, in the light of talks between the government and the ANC.

Numsa also bewails the refusal of Samancor, Usco and Dorbyl’s Tosa, whose workers were attacked in Sebokeng, to participate in a joint probe of the hostel violence. Samancor said police were handling the matter and the company had no jurisdiction in the township.

Numsa also resolved at its NEC [National Executive Committee] to ask the metal industries’ employer body, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation, to set up a joint investigating body, and to arrange union access to strife-hit workplaces and the release of shop-stewards for peace work.

* Formation of Islamic Political Party Announced

91AF0141D Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English
7 Oct 90 p 3

[Article by Norman West, political reporter]

[Text] The first national Islamic political party in South Africa is to be launched later this month. It is the brainchild of the principal of a Cape Town private college, 36-year-old Mr Naushad Omar, a quantity surveyor.

The three main aims of the Islamic Party of South Africa will be: to promote the ideology of Islam in the social, political and economic fields in a post-apartheid South Africa; to protect the interests of Islam and Muslims; and to make contact with political parties in other countries to strengthen the Pan-Islam Movement.

Mr Omar said that in the past the Muslim community and Muslim civic bodies have aligned themselves with other groupings who fought for a nonracial and anti-apartheid South Africa. The new party will offer them a new “political home.”

* NP Launches Image-Building Campaign

91AF0141E Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English
14 Oct 90 p 2

[Article by Dries van Heerden]

[Text] The National Party [NP] has embarked on a major drive to build alliances across racial boundaries to ensure it has a strong position in the new South Africa.

And there is a growing belief in Government circles that such a moderate alliance will be able to hold its own against the ANC [African National Congress] in a one-person, one-vote election.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen told the SUNDAY TIMES this week that his own views on this “have changed dramatically” over the past few weeks.

“I now have a complete new vision about the future,” he said. “It is possible for us to be part of the majority instead of only thinking about ourselves as a minority that needs special protection.”

Two factors seem to have engendered a new spirit of self-confidence in the party:

- The realisation that the ANC is not the all-powerful juggernaut, sweeping up all political support, that it claimed to be. It is becoming clearer every day that it is struggling with the same problems of apathy, divisions and organisational headaches that are troubling other political parties.
- Recent countrywide polls that put support for President F.W. de Klerk among the whole population at 22 percent.

Alliance

“And we have not even started to market our visions and politics,” Dr Viljoen said.

“There is no reason whatsoever why a broad alliance of South Africans will not be able to beat the ANC in an election. We may even draw ANC supporters away from them.”

Dr Viljoen said he believed political divisions in a future South Africa would be based more on ideological differences than on racial and cultural divisions.

“The role of the new NP will be to become part of a broad front that can be built up into the dominant political force in the country.”

However, he ruled out any alliance between the Government and the ANC.

“We differ on fundamental issues,” he said. “There is a wide gap between our vision of the future and the ANC’s.”

Indications are that the party will embark on a four-pronged strategy to strengthen its position after its Transvaal congress this Saturday puts the final stamp, as expected, on opening up the party to all races.

- Position the NP in the middle of the political spectrum as the party standing for law and order, free enterprise and stable community life.

Campaign

"We should show ourselves to be the party for the common man—white and black. The party that cares for the poor and the aged and the homeless and which wants to protect family values such as education and respect for property," a senior Cabinet Minister said this week.

- Embark on a multi-media information campaign to project the new image of the party followed by a massive recruitment drive.
- Seek alliances with other moderate political groupings without necessarily merging with them.
- Publicly criticise the ANC's policies, especially on economics.

Dr Viljoen said the Government was confident it would be able to negotiate a new constitution that would be acceptable to the vast majority—including the white electorate.

* ANC Criticized for Lack of Direction

91AF0141F Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English
14 Oct 90 p 2

[Article by Mandla Tyala]

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] has been shaken by criticism from its members over the handling of the recent Transvaal violence.

A top organiser has slammed ANC leaders for failing to give clear direction during the carnage which claimed 750 lives.

The concern has been echoed by the Reverend Stanley Mogoba, president of the Methodist Conference, who this week lay responsibility for the blood of the hundreds of slain people on the shoulders of leaders who refused to talk to other leaders—a clear reference to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's refusal to talk to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At the root of the problem is a clash of perspectives: grassroots supporters feel the leaders should be providing the solutions, while top leadership believes local structures should be supplying them.

PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] regional organiser and former Robben Island prisoner Andrew Mapheto has criticised the ANC in two publications—Work in Progress, a journal of left-wing opinion, and Democracy in Action, mouthpiece of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa.

Among Mr Mapheto's main points are:

- ANC members missed the presence and guidance of national leadership during the violence;
- People felt the ANC was paralysed and had "fallen prey to de Klerk's sweet talk";
- The image of the organisation took a powerful knock

among ordinary people because of the lack of communication between the leadership and structures on the ground;

- There was an absence of "clear, considered response from the national leadership."

Mr Mapheto said: "In some instances, the youth demanded that no peace be entertained with Inkatha or the police.

"They accused the civics of selling out or acting without mandate.

"In short, there is a great deal of ignorance about some crucial ANC policies and unless attempts are made to provide an organisational reference point, vigilante groups may fill the vacuum."

In another article, Mr Mapheto said: "The collective perspective of leadership needs to be seriously reviewed since there is no evidence to support the notion that it has reached people on the ground.

Violence

"We must acknowledge that the ANC is transforming its operation from being an exiled movement to a legal entity within the country.

"This has its own limitations, which are often transferred into criticism about our ability to lead."

The ANC has conceded some of the points raised by Mr Mapheto, but maintains his overall criticism was "too harsh."

Spokesman Saki Macozoma said: "The expectation that top ANC leaders would be in every township and at every incident is unrealistic.

"Our view is that the question of co-ordination can best be handled by local leadership."

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport before flying to India, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said he was convinced President F.W. de Klerk was committed to fundamental change in SA [Republic of South Africa].

"I am convinced Mr de Klerk wants peace in this country," he replied when asked whether he doubted Mr de Klerk's integrity.

"We have already set in motion the machinery for resolving the differences that have now arisen. We are not neglecting this issue," Mr Mandela added.

"It is our initiative."

Reportage on Nelson Mandela's Visit to Europe

WA0811121490

For reportage on the visit by Nelson Mandela to the United Kingdom and France, including reports on his talks with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and French President Francois Mitterrand, see the United Kingdom and France sections of the 7 November West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Angola

President Dos Santos Assumes Defense Portfolio

*MB0711202890 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 2011 GMT 7 Nov 90*

[Text] In his capacity as commander in chief of the Angolan Armed Forces, Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has taken charge of the Defense Ministry and taken over the post of FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] chief of general staff.

A communique issued in Luanda today states that this measure fits within the framework of reorganizing the Defense Ministry and the FAPLA chief of general staff's office in light of the needs arising from ongoing political change in the country.

Meanwhile, the minister of defense will only be responsible for the chief of general staff's office and for organizing the land forces. The chief of general staff will lead the various working groups connected with the Defense Ministry's reorganization.

Refusal To Merge Armies Called 'Bad Faith'

*MB0811060490 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 2200 GMT 7 Nov 90*

[Text] Lieutenant General Francisco Magalhaes Paiva Nvunda, interior minister, has said in Cabinda Province that UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] refusal to form a unified army after the signing of a cease-fire reveals its bad faith and an unequivocal desire to prolong war.

The Angolan official said that it was not possible to carry out a genuinely democratic and safe electoral process with more than one national Army in the country. The interior minister also spoke of ongoing government actions within the framework of peace program, notably the revision of the Constitution and other legal documents to establish a multiparty system in Angola.

Dos Santos Envoy Meets Bush's Envoy in Lisbon

*MB0811071090 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 8 Nov 90*

[Text] Lopo do Nascimento, special political affairs adviser to the Angolan president and Jeffrey Davidow, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs [as heard], discussed the Angolan peace process in Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, the day before yesterday. The discussions centered on the fifth round of direct negotiations between the Angolan Government and UNITA expected for the second half of this month.

The two officials also held two separate meetings with Durao Barroso, Portuguese secretary of state for foreign affairs and cooperation, and mediator in the peace process.

The U.S. diplomat spent three days in South Africa after delivering to President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe a message from George Bush connected with the Angolan peace process.

FAPLA Communique Reports UNITA Actions

*MB0811065590 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 8 Nov 90*

[Text] A communique from the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] General Staff issued in Luanda yesterday reveals that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] killed six people, wounded six others, and burned two vehicles when it mounted an ambush 42 km from Uige City the day before yesterday [6 November].

Last Sunday [4 November], UNITA terrorists also ambushed four civilian vehicles in Catengue, Benguela Province, killing eight people, wounding eight others, and destroying the vehicles.

The communique added that on the same day attacked the [words indistinct] factory in Huambo City, killing one person and wounding another. In the Huambo attack, UNITA also destroyed 13 storehouses, two flour mills, an analysis laboratory, and a health post. UNITA also stole people's goods.

According to the FAPLA General Staff communique, last Monday [5 November] UNITA destroyed the bridge over Chiume River, near (Focalma) in Lunda Norte Province, using explosives.

Meanwhile, the Angolan Army killed seven UNITA terrorists and seized their respective weapons in Ebo, Cuanza Sul Province, last Sunday.

KUP Reports 'Large' MPLA Army Presence

*MB0711165990 (Clandestine) KUP in English
to Southern and Central Africa 1618 GMT 7 Nov 90*

[Text] Jamba, Wednesday Nov. 7.....[dateline as received]—Large MPLA [Popular Movement of the Liberation of Angola] military concentrations have been reported in the central Angola province of Bie.

Military sources have disclosed that there has been a significant military build-up of armaments and troops at the towns of Cuemba and Munhango, along the strategic Benguela Railway. The build-up is believed to be designed to launch military offensives on UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]-liberated areas.

In a related development, meanwhile, a large MPLA military convoy transporting troops and armaments from the town of Bie to the two railway towns was attacked by UNITA forces.

A large quantity of assorted armaments were seized in the attack which took place recently.

UNITA Urges Resumption of Peace Talks

MB0511120590 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and
Central Africa 0510 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Commentary: "Mediation in the Angolan Conflict—A
Need for Conformity"]

[Text] The fifth round of talks to bring about peace in
Angola has been postponed once again.

First, the meeting was postponed at the request of the
Government of the People's Republic of Angola. It had
been set for 22 October. However, it did not take place
and no communique was issued by the mediating party
to this effect. Therefore, a UNITA [National Union for
the Total Independence of Angola] delegation that was
already on its way to Portugal to attend the meeting was
forced to return.

Sources close to the Portuguese mediating team have
now issued a press communique pointing out that the
meeting will not take place on 6 November, either, as
had been previously announced. The real reasons for the
postponement are well known by the parties involved in
the negotiations, particularly the mediator.

There is really a need to adjust some steps and adopt
measures so that the positive spirit that has character-
ized all past rounds of talks can prevail to guarantee the
success of efforts for peace in Angola.

Accordingly, special attention should be paid to the
negotiating process and to the transmission of exact
dates for the talks. Both sides must be informed of these
matters on an equal footing and within a reasonable
period of time to enable them to seriously prepare
themselves to travel to Portugal. As a matter of fact, the
problem does not only lie with dates but also with the
negotiating agenda, which is fundamental to the success
of the talks.

UNITA did not kindly regard what happened in recent
days. The news that the fifth round of talks would take
place on 6 November was learned through Luanda radio,
citing the Angolan news agency. That was also the same
station that pompously presented the working agenda.
What kind of agenda was it? To make things worse, the
working agenda did not correspond to real issues that
must be discussed. The essential issue at the fifth round
of talks is not the formation of the armed forces. What is
important now is a cease-fire, which we have already
begun to discuss and must continue to discuss to the end.
What is more, at the level of a political commission, the
fundamental principles to restore peace in Angola center
on the crucial point of UNITA's explicit recognition.

The Angolan people want a just and lasting peace. The
Angolan people want to see a real, efficient, and inter-
nationally monitored cease-fire as a first major step. The
Angolan people want to see the two belligerent sides, that
is UNITA and the Government of the People's Republic
of Angola, be realistic in their approach to the Angolan

problem by mutually recognizing each other. This will
enable us to begin a new chapter in Angola's political and
social life, to be characterized by political contests.

The Angolan people want free and just elections. The
Angolan people want multiparty and internationally
monitored elections to begin in 1991. No one accepts
and no one will accept elections to be held four and
one-half years from now. No one.

All democratic diplomatic circles do not accept the
tactics of the Government of the People's Republic of
Angola in pretending that it wants talks while the aim is,
as they say, to wear down UNITA's allies.

The Portuguese mediating team should as part of its
efforts inform the Government of the People's Republic
of Angola of certain truths, notably that we have now
passed to a new phase of negotiations which are no
longer exploratory. This therefore requires the Govern-
ment of the People's Republic of Angola to upgrade its
delegation so that it can seriously involve itself in talks
and be able to sign important agreements.

It is equally absolutely necessary that the Government of
the People's Republic of Angola is aware that negotia-
tions cannot be used as a smokescreen for its warmoni-
gering and genocidal adventures against the Angolan
people.

As always, UNITA is ready for well-prepared negotia-
tions. UNITA will fulfill its duty toward making progress
in the talks so as to reach an agreement for a cease-fire in
1990, for free, just, multiparty, and internationally mon-
itored elections in 1991.

The date of negotiations and the working agenda should
be suitably conveyed, and they have to correspond to the
path of the proceedings. The date of negotiations should
be transmitted within a reasonable period of time to
enable UNITA's delegation to leave Angola's free terri-
tory for Portugal.

UNITA will attend the fifth round of talks. Let us rectify
existing problems to enable the train to move forward
more quickly and in greater security toward its destiny.
Angolan people, UNITA militants, we must at all costs
avoid subterfuges that will prevent us from discussing
and finalizing the cease-fire issue as well as fundamental
political principles to restore peace in Angola, with
UNITA's recognition.

Democratic governments worldwide, particularly the
United States, UNITA is ready for negotiations. UNITA
will attend the fifth round of talks once a date and a
working agenda have been well established. UNITA will
attend the fifth round of talks with a political desire to
quickly achieve a cease-fire and begin a serious political
calendar for truly democratic elections. Let us all work
toward peace in Angola. Let us have a positive negoti-
ating process to avoid unnecessary deviations that would

delay the establishment of liberty and multiparty democracy in our country. Long live liberty! Long live multiparty democracy! Let us have a cease-fire in 1990! Let us have free, just, multiparty, and internationally monitored elections in 1991!

Commentary Views Anniversary With 'Hope'

*MB0711170790 (Clandestine) KUP in English
to Southern and Central Africa 1615 GMT 7 Nov 90*

[Commentary: "We Salute November 11 with Hope and Faith"]

[Text] [no dateline as received]—November 11, the independence of our country betrayed in 1975 by the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] for having usurped power with the direct support of the Cuban armed forces, is approaching. The Cuban intervention betrayed the agreements signed in Alvor in Portugal between the then three liberation movements namely, FNLA [Angolan National Liberation Front] MPLA and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the Portuguese Government.

November 11 is a historic mark which Angolans will always have on the most glorious pages of their history because it represents the recompensation of an incomparable titanic effort and sacrifice of Angolan patriots in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. This effort, and sacrifice, were consented with the greatest substance and impetus of UNITA under the leadership of President Jonas Savimbi, who conducted the national liberation struggle inside the country for eight consecutive years. [sentence as received]

After 15 years of the MPLA's betrayal and a civil war imposed upon Angolans by the MPLA, there is new hope today of recovering our land's dignity. The Angolan national resistance led by UNITA, waged to correct the error of history, is the platform of all the political and social transformations taking place in our country. On the eve of November 11, UNITA hereby reaffirms its determination to continue fighting for the ideals of peace, freedom and multiparty democracy, as it has come to do ever since its foundation.

The face-to-face peace talks being held today between our valuable movement and the PRA [People's Republic of Angola] Government are a consequence of UNITA's efforts toward peace and multipartism. History bears witness to this fact with the events following April 25, namely, the holding of the summits of Mombasa, Alvor and Nakuru and other historic marks in the interest of peace and freedom.

Today, when the MPLA, the sole party in power in Angola, adopts multipartism-in-Angola language or speech, although indecisively and confused, it is due to UNITA's hard struggle for peace and multiparty democracy. UNITA's struggle has forced the MPLA to review its political thinking because it is outdated and has failed

not only in the light of the peace and democratic movement brought about by UNITA in Angola but also in the light of the democratic winds sweeping across the world.

In this context, the MPLA political spinings aimed at resisting democracy in Angola with the total and active participation of UNITA, are doomed to failure. Peace and democracy in Angola necessarily need the consent of UNITA. This is the only way we can have a truly multiparty governing system in Angola: This is the only way to block the MPLA from achieving its grim objectives of creating satellite or puppet parties and then feign a democracy of parties.

The 1990 November 11 will be our reaffirmation of our convictions in the struggle for peace and multiparty democracy. Only with the restoration of peace and multipartism will the ideals of November 11 as foreseen in the Alvor Agreements be realised. Only then will the Angolan people finally feel free and satisfied in their profound aspirations.

The road travelled by the Angolan people and UNITA militants thus far in the national resistance against the neo-colonialist ambition of the Cuban invaders and their internal lackeys, has been honorable. It has allowed the recovery of our dignity as a people and a nation. It has allowed us to mutually respect one another and has allowed us to have a wider and clearer vision of our destiny. We know where we come from and to where we are heading. Through our own effort, we will make the world respect us and recognise us as a permanent and indispensable element in human history.

We will remain united and cohesive around UNITA and we will unshakeably follow our beloved president, Dr. Jonas Savimbi. We have faith in the final victory because the fruits of our sacrifices and blood shed are there for the world to see.

We salute November 11 with hope and faith.

Soviet Official Lauds Ties With Republic

*MB0811073190 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 8 Nov 90*

[Text] (Vladimir Zanskiy), minister-counselor of the Soviet Embassy in Angola, said in Luanda yesterday that the 15 years of relations between the USSR and the People's Republic of Angola constitute a period of development of ties in different fields between the two peoples.

Speaking on the occasion of the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution marked yesterday, (Vladimir Zanskiy) said that over the past two years concrete steps have been carried out in the country to resolve the Angolan conflict. He stressed that peace that is so much desired by the Angolan people was not far from being achieved.

In his speech, the Soviet diplomat underlined the role played by the Great October Revolution in uplifting the

national awareness of peoples worldwide—those under colonization, as well as those who were already independent.

Lesotho

People Said Unhappy With King's Dethronement

MB0711160690 London BBC World Service
in English 1515 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Interview with Bennet Kakhetla, leader of the royalist Marematlou Freedom Party, by reporter Robin White; place and date not given; recorded—from the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] After a series of run-ins with a succession of governments, Lesotho's King Moshoeshoe II was finally deposed yesterday by the country's military leader, Major General Lekhanya. He accused the king of being uncooperative for 25 years, of being involved in politics in violation of the Office of the King Order and, finally, of refusing to return from exile at his invitation last month.

Well, now Gen. Lekhanya has passed a new Office of the King Order deposing Moshoeshoe and leaving it to the chiefs to decide whether to appoint Crown Prince (Mohato) Seeiso as king or to leave things in the hands of the queen regent.

On the line, Robin White asked former government minister and leader of the royalist Marematlou Freedom Party, Bennett Kakhetla, what he felt about the whole affair.

[Begin recording] [Kakhetla] Well, I feel very bad about it because I do not think that the Military Council has got any right to depose the king as he is king by right of birth and not by nomination or election.

[White] So who would have to depose him?

[Kakhetla] Well, the only thing that could remove him from office is if he should die or if his health should deteriorate to such an extent that he cannot carry out his functions as a king.

[White] Gen. Lekhanya says that the king has broken all agreements he has made with the government not to involve himself in politics.

[Kakhetla] Well, ever since the king went into exile in February, a lot of things were said about him by Gen. Lekhanya and other people and I do not suppose they expected the king to keep quiet all this time and allow them to say all manner of things about him.

[White] What about the criticism of the king that he has been refusing to come home?

[Kakhetla] Well, I do not know that he refused to come home. In any case, how did he get to England in the first place? Because he had no desire to go to England. He was forced to get there.

[White] Do you think it would have been a good idea if he had come back, say, last week?

[Kakhetla] Yeah, well, personally I would have been happier if he had come back.

[White] What do you think is going to happen? Will the crown prince take over, do you think?

[Kakhetla] Well, I really would not express an opinion there because I feel the so-called deposition of the king is unacceptable to the majority of the Basotho people.

[White] But if the crown prince does agree to take over, what will you and your party then do?

[Kakhetla] Well, if he takes over...[pauses] well, we shall have nothing to say but we will still not be satisfied that the king has been rightly deposed.

[White] But will you still support the royalty?

[Kakhetla] Well, we are not supporting a person. We are supporting the institution of the monarchy.

[White] Do you think that the Lesotho people are going to accept what has happened or do you think there might be some kind of rebellion?

[Kakhetla] Well, I can't say that because I have been in Maseru, I have not been out to the villages in the country and I do not know what the people are thinking but, generally, I think that there is a lot of dissatisfaction with what Gen. Metsing Lekhanya has done.

[White] Aren't there equally a number of people who are pretty fed up with the way the king has behaved?

[Kakhetla] I am not aware of that. A few people, I know, have been saying things about him but the majority of the people are quite satisfied with the king.

[White] But what will you and your party do? Will you try and whip up feeling against the government or what will you do?

[Kakhetla] Well, I think we can only wait for the promised general elections in 1992. If they will be fair then, this will be an issue that we shall place squarely before the electorate. [end recording]

Mauritius

* Major Sectors 'Vulnerable' to Higher Prices

91AF0025A Port Louis 5-PLUS in French
20 Sep 90 p 10

[Text] It is now nearly certain, with the price of oil rising above \$25, that the world is entering a period of economic slowdown, or recession, in the months to come, which will last as long as a peaceful solution acceptable to both Western and Gulf nations remains elusive.

Woe to the developing countries, who will be dealt the cruelest blows, especially those who have begun to industrialize and who depend primarily on oil from the Gulf to turn the wheels of their factories. Included are the newly industrialized countries of Asia and especially Mauritius, with an oil bill equalling 5 percent of its gross national product.

It is foreseeable that the worldwide economic slowdown will reduce global demand and that the countries exporting goods and services to the markets of Europe, the United States, and Japan will fight to preserve as much as possible of their respective market shares. Markets for manufactured goods, including textiles, and for services such as tourism will become the economic prizes. If Mauritius does not consider its alternatives and act today, it could soon find itself in a severe economic slump with not only an additional oil bill of some 500 million rupees but also with the prospect of a series of factory and half-filled-hotel shutdowns resulting from the high cost of these products compared to other countries.

It is important to remember that the Mauritian economy rests essentially on three pillars, which together are the three wellsprings that nourish the population. Of the three, sugar, in spite of price uncertainties, enjoys a protected market and stable returns, except when stricken with bad climatic conditions. On the other hand, tourism and the free trade zone, which together bring in nearly 13 billion rupees in gross revenues in foreign currencies and employ over 100,000 people, operate in a highly competitive global environment.

Therefore, they [the free trade zone and tourism] will be much more vulnerable in the coming months. A worldwide economic slowdown means the hard reality of dwindling markets for the exporting countries. For Mauritius, the problem is this: If the tourism and textile markets shrink because Europe's buying power drops as a result of petroleum prices, then the hotels, Air Mauritius, and the free trade zone factories will pay the price. The more expensive the product, the greater the loss of the small remaining market to Asian competitors, who will also fight tooth and nail for their share of the market. Therefore, we believe it is absolutely essential to keep tourist and industrial sector prices as low as possible. In addition, we must continue to improve our delivery services.

According to various sources, administrative procedures have not improved at either the ministry of commerce or customs concerning the importation of raw materials, requests for permits, and export procedures. We must face the necessity of eliminating fraud, while being sure not to penalize the honest exporters, who outnumber the small handful of cheats. Besides, the situation is viewed this way in the countries in direct competition with us. Treating all entrepreneurs in the same way represents an additional cost on exported goods and will add to the comparative handicap.

We have been travelling recently in the opposite direction from the path we should follow. The hike in air freight and ticket prices by Air Mauritius makes our costs higher for tourists and soon will have the effect of reducing the world's demand for Mauritian products. In a short time, the 37-percent increase in transportation costs will reduce the competitiveness of the free trade zone and tourism by at least 1 percent, on top of the 2-percent reduction caused by salary increases (not bad in themselves when accompanied by increases in productivity) granted in July.

Add to that the jump in air freight starting 1 October and the probable rises in gas and electricity prices, and conditions are ripe for economic suicide. To the benefit of other countries.

* Utchanah Proposes Nuclear Power Plant in 2000

91AF0025B Port Louis THE SUN in French
15 Aug 90 p 1, 7

[Excerpts] "Energy supplies for future generations are among the principal concerns of the present government," stated Mr. Mahen Utchanah, minister of energy, yesterday afternoon at the inauguration of a building housing a post office and a civil service office at Solferino in Vacoas. [passage omitted]

Developing Mauritius was the major theme of the speech by Minister of Energy Mahen Utchanah. Since 1982 our country has lived in a constant state of change and an accompanying increase in needs. The major development projects, Mr. Utchanah stressed, inevitably are accompanied by problems since they create new needs.

In both manufacturing and the hotel sector, energy consumption has multiplied.

"But the government has always shown the vision needed to prepare for possible shortages."

The Mauritius of tomorrow, said the minister, will be incontrovertibly modern because necessary infrastructures are being put in place. [passage omitted]

The minister also brushed aside any danger to our energy supply resulting from Iraq's annexation of Kuwait. [passage omitted] That is why Mr. Utchanah went so far as to call for a nuclear power plant to supply part of our energy. [passage omitted]

Mozambique

Minister Discusses Planned Chilean Cooperation

MB0611211790 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Mozambican-Chilean cooperation has been in the news over the last few days. Industry and Energy Minister Antonio Branco visited that Latin American country and spoke to Ofelia Tembe on his return to Maputo.

[Tembe] The minister of industry and energy said that his visit to Chile allowed him to learn about an interesting experience connected with the organization of the energy sector in Chile. Minister Branco said that the energy sector in that country has experienced profound change over the last few years. This change affected investment and price policies as well as the participation of the various sectors involved in the production and distribution of energy.

[Begin Branco recording] It was extremely useful to learn about an experience that is virtually unique in developing countries over the last few years. Like Mozambique, Chile has hydroelectric projects. It has very developed human and technical resources. During our visit, we agreed on a number of programs to establish cooperation in the energy sector. This cooperation would include information exchanges, learning about legislation connected with the electricity sector, investment policies, setting energy distribution prices and tariffs, and so forth.

We also outlined several programs for future cooperation concerning the situation of Chilean technicians and companies and their involvement in energy development programs in this part of the world. [end recording]

Frelimo, Zambian Delegations Meet in Maputo

*MB0611212190 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 6 Nov 90*

[Text] Delegations of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party and Zambia's UNIP [United National Independence Party] party held talks in Maputo today.

Eduardo Arao, Frelimo Party Central Committee secretary for organization, said that these talks were important in strengthening bilateral relations and gaining a perspective on the future.

Also today the Zambian party team was received by Frelimo Political Bureau members Alberto Chipande and Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi.

Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi briefed the Zambian delegation on the Mozambican Government's efforts to attain peace in Mozambique. Pascoal Mocumbi stressed the need for the two parties to exchange experiences and information.

The Zambian team also placed a wreath at the Mozambican Heroes Monument.

Zambian Team Leaves for Sofala

*MB0711151990 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1400 GMT 7 Nov 90*

[Text] The visiting Zambian party delegation left Maputo this morning for Sofala Province, where it will tour places of social and economic interest, including the Beira Corridor and the center for war-displaced people.

The visiting United National Independence Party of Zambia team is accompanied by Alberto Sithole, head of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department.

Zambia

Kaunda Salutes Several African Leaders

*MB0711150990 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 7 Nov 90*

[Excerpt] Leaders from several African countries attended two separate ceremonies in Lusaka this morning. The theme of the ceremonies was peace and reconciliation among brothers in a Christian spirit, and they were organized by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

According to our correspondent in Lusaka, the heads of state took part in a breakfast ceremony today which began with a prayer by the archbishop of Lusaka who called for peace and reconciliation among countries worldwide, regardless of their ideologies and interests.

The ceremony consisted of religious songs by various groups of the Zambian Christian church.

Speaking on the occasion, President Kaunda condemned conflicts in different parts of the world under religious pretexts and called on all communities belonging to different religious denominations to fight for peace, unity, and reconciliation.

Kenneth Kaunda saluted presidents Joaquim Chissano, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Frederick de Klerk, and leaders of liberation movements in South Africa for their peace efforts in southern Africa. [passage omitted]

Envisages South Africa in SADCC

*MB0711165590 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1500 GMT 7 Nov 90*

[Text] The chairman of the Frontline States and president of Zambia, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, has held out the prospect of South Africa joining the Southern African Coordination Conference, SADCC.

Speaking in Lusaka, he said that if South Africa joined SADCC, southern Africa could be turned into an economic powerhouse. He was replying to an appeal for regional cooperation by the South African minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha. Mr. Botha attended a prayer breakfast and seminar hosted by President Kaunda in Lusaka today. Mr. Botha said that South Africa was ready to play its rightful role in southern Africa.

Says Party Will Endure

MB0711185290 Lusaka Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] The president, Dr. Kaunda, has described the national prayer breakfast as a successful meeting, saying it would yield a lot of positive results. The president was speaking at the Lusaka International Airport after seeing off Presidents Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, who had come to attend the prayer meeting that took place in Lusaka today.

He also said that the spirit shown by party militants gave him hope that UNIP [United National Independence Party] would overcome all opposition in the coming multiparty elections and endure even after the current leaders had left office.

South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha was the first to leave while the other leaders who had participated in the national prayer breakfast were expected to leave later. Speaking earlier at the [name indistinct] hotel at the seminar for leaders invited to attend the national prayer breakfast, Mr. Botha said the era of apartheid is over and his country is ready to play a positive role in the development of the social and economic structure in southern Africa.

Mr. Botha said that apartheid is gone and it is time for southern Africa to join hands in creating a sound economic base in southern Africa and the creation of one atmosphere of peace and reconciliation. [sentence as heard]

Mr. Botha observed that southern Africa has vast human and material resources which should be harnessed through the appropriate development of agricultural and scientific projects that would benefit the people of South Africa and the entire continent.

The leader of the independent South African homeland of Transkei, General Bantu Holomisa, has asked experienced leaders in southern Africa to closely monitor (?unfolding) events in South Africa and in turn rescue the region from impending anarchy. He made the request when he addressed the national prayer seminar for reconciliation held at the [name indistinct] hotel. Gen. Holomisa also asked the African leaders to meet regularly with the leaders of South Africa in a bid to salvage the region from the specter of impending anarchy. Gen. Holomisa also called on the chairman of the Organization of African Unity, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, to ensure that the ground already covered with regard to the elimination of discriminatory policies in South Africa was not undone.

Chissano Says Government, Renamo Teams in Rome

MB0711181590 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Speaking at a meeting in Lusaka today that focused on problems connected with peace and reconciliation, President Joaquim Alberto Chissano disclosed that Mozambican Government and Renamo [Mozambique National

Resistance] teams are in Rome today to begin the third round of talks on the peace process in the country.

Discussing the meeting that was attended in Lusaka today by Zambian President Kenneth David Kaunda, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, the Swazi prime minister, and representatives from South Africa, Botswana, Angola, and Namibia, the Mozambican head of state said that the issues of peace and reconciliation still require much thinking, adding that we need peace and reconciliation to improve the lives of human beings today and tomorrow. He noted, however, that much remains to be done for those goals to be achieved.

President Joaquim Chissano said at the meeting that he had received a letter from an American child who expressed concern about the war in Mozambique and support for the Mozambican head of state's peace efforts. The Mozambican leader noted that our country has always sought peace for southern Africa, adding this has particularly been the case since 1983 when our efforts culminated in the signing of the Nkomati Accord with South Africa which helped enhance a spirit of reconciliation.

President Joaquim Chissano expressed satisfaction about the fact that today leaders from African governments were meeting with representatives of the ANC [African National Congress], the South African Government, and the so-called South African bantustans, all in the same room and without differences based on color, race, or ethnic groupings.

The Mozambican head of state said that, quote, we are here as men. We do not even ask what is our origin. We are all equal, unquote.

President Joaquim Alberto Chissano returned to the Mozambican capital this evening.

People Called on To Choose 'Principled Leaders'

MB0711190990 Lusaka Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] The home affairs minister of state, Major Wezi Kaunda, has urged Zambians to choose principled leaders with outstanding moral character, with the country going into multiparty politics next year.

Speaking in Parliament today, Maj. Kaunda said people without principles should not be allowed to form a government. The minister, who was contributing to the debate on the [words indistinct] to President Kaunda's opening address, said a successful multiparty state depends on the caliber of the leaders of all the parties.

He also cautioned members of the clergy against taking sides in the multiparty system, as that could divide the nation.

Zimbabwe

Report Details 1989 Trade Statistics

MB0711122890 Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE
in English 26 Oct 90 p 2

[Staff Reporter: "Trade balance With Britain Encouraging"; all figures as published]

[Text] Zimbabwe recorded a favourable trade balance of 8.8 million pounds, nearly \$40 million [Zimbabwe dollars] in trade with Britain in 1989, when the country exported goods worth 85.8 million pounds and imported goods worth 87 million pounds.

Britain remains Zimbabwe's second largest trading partner after South Africa.

According to figures released by the British Department of Trade and Industry, the main Zimbabwe exports to Britain in 1989 were tobacco, which earned the country 22.8 million pounds, sugar and honey, which earned 10.2 million pounds.

Other exports were meat and meat preparations, earning 7.8 million pounds, textile yarn and fabrics, which earned 6.1 million pounds, coffee, tea, cocoa and spices, which earned 5.7 million pounds, and iron and steel, which earned 5.1 million pounds.

Metalliferous ores and metal scrap exports from Zimbabwe realised earnings of 4.4 million pounds, while clothing exports earned 4.3 million pounds, vegetables and fruit 1.9 million pounds, professional scientific, and control instruments 1.1 million pounds, and transport equipment 500,000 pounds.

Power-generating machinery and telecommunications equipment each earned the country 400,000 pounds, while crude fertilisers and minerals brought in 200,000 pounds. Other Miscellaneous exports brought in an additional 5 million pounds.

UK imports from Zimbabwe have been dropping over the years, from 94.7 million pounds in 1985, to 80.7 million pounds in 1986, 79.7 million pounds in 1987, 86.3 million pounds in 1988, and 85.8 million pounds in 1989.

Meanwhile, UK exports to Zimbabwe totalled 87 million pounds in 1989. The major export items to Zimbabwe were road vehicles, which cost the country 14.1 million pounds, general industrial machinery and transport equipment which each cost Zimbabwe 6.9 million pounds, and power generating machinery and metal-working machinery, which each cost 5.4 million pounds.

Other major export items were iron and steel, which cost 4 million pounds, electrical machinery, which cost 4.7 million pounds, non-metallic mineral manufactures and professional, scientific and control instruments, each costing 3.7 million pounds, and telecommunications equipment, costing 3.2 million pounds.

UK exports to Zimbabwe went from 73.6 million pounds in 1985 to 61.9 million pounds in 1987, 58.1 million pounds in 1988 and rose substantially to 87 million pounds in 1989.

Meanwhile, IMF Directory of Trade Statistics show that South Africa has firmly remained the major source of Zimbabwe's imports, with Zimbabwe's imports, with Zimbabwe importing goods worth US\$255.8 million from that country in 1988.

Imports from the UK in the same year amounted to US\$103.7 million, while those from the Federal Republic of Germany totalled US\$101.7 million.

Imports from Botswana totalled US\$73.8 million, while those from the United States amounted to US\$37.8 million, with goods from Japan totalling US\$36.4 million.

Goods worth a further US\$31.8 million were imported from the Netherlands, US\$28.9 million from France, US\$23.2 million from Italy, and US\$17.2 million from Sweden. Total imports amounted to just over US\$1 billion.

Benin*** Pitfalls of Democratic Experiment Examined**

91AF0043A Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE
in French Sep 90 pp 130-133

[Article by Jean-Christophe Martineau and Jean-Baptiste Placca: "Vulnerable Democracy"; first paragraph is JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE introduction]

[Text] The country is slowly emerging from dictatorship. In expressing their opinion on the draft constitution, the Beninese have opened the democratic ball in Africa. But the stumblingblocks, economic and human, abound.

History is starting all over again for Benin. Thirty years after achieving independence, the former Republic of Dahomey has, by referendum this September 1990, adopted a new constitution that carries with it beyond the 112,622 km of this land the hopes of the whole African continent.

For if, as we hope it will, this new experiment ends in an authentic democracy, Benin could be for Africa what Poland—we refrain from making any assertions—was for Eastern Europe at the end of the past decade: a pilot state as regards a return to democracy. So, Mathieu Kerekou may be the local Jaruzelski, that is, a repentant dictator who is suddenly playing the role of pioneer and democrat, at least in the context of this subregion.

As in Poland, the chief of state has agreed to form a government composed largely of opponents whom he had imprisoned or sentenced in absentia, sometimes even given the death penalty. As in East Europe, the continent's presidents for life know that they must henceforth choose between becoming "Jaruzelskis"—by agreeing to lose the exercise of power, although retaining their posts while they wait to be democratically replaced—or continuing to be "Ceausescus"—by clinging to the point of absurdity to power that is disputed and that they will lose anyway. For democracy is at present inevitable in Africa since its peoples can no longer permanently consent to being deprived of freedom, as they have been for three decades.

Chief Danger: Personal Ambitions

Benin is today a model. The transition is progressing fairly well. And yet, international public opinion does not seem to be particularly excited over it. No doubt because this country is not called Poland, Hungary, or East Germany. No more so Saddam Husayn's bellicosity than the civil war in Liberia or even the bloody fracas between South African Xhosa and Zulus are the only excuses for this indifference. Even more deplorable is the little interest the elites of other African countries evince in an experiment that continues to be a unique opportunity for Africa to prove that it is not congenitally unfit for democracy.

What is slowly being born before our eyes is particularly fragile and calls for everyone's support. All the more so since, inside as well as outside Benin, there are many people who would not look askance at a failure of this experiment. Of course, no one in Cotonou, Parakou, Porto Novo, Natitingou, or Abomey will admit to being fundamentally opposed to the establishment of democracy. But the personal ambitions, the threatened privileges are so numerous—and so contradictory—that we could not swear to the good faith of all those who are making a fuss over the newborn. Herein lies the greatest danger.

Objectively viewed, what interest could Mathieu Kerekou have in seeing the present process be brought to a successful conclusion? He may be commended for agreeing to hold the national conference that stripped him of power last February. He had to, of course. But still left to him was force, a military solution, which he did not (or could not) use. Although still president of the republic, he no longer decides on anything. None of his ex-comrades in arms has been retained for the transitional government and he has to be satisfied with ratifying decisions made by ministers he does not like, whom he has never liked. His former party, the so-called "People's Revolution Party of Benin" (PRPB), has been scuttled and the "social democratic" organization born of its ashes has not yet emerged. So, Kerekou has no illusions about the results of any parliamentary elections. And every day that passes convinces him a little more of the uselessness of facing a universal suffrage, which he no longer has the means to manipulate. For him, the day after the permanent establishment of the new institutions, 1 April 1991, will surely be synonymous with retirement. So, the longer the transitional period, the better it will be for this man who no longer expects anything from heaven. If, in spite of everything, he were to insist on democratically retaining the post he has occupied for 17 years, the "Great Comrade in Arms" would first have to resign from the Army. A trap! For Kerekou without the Army is...just Kerekou. Former chiefs of state, active septuagenarians who were very conspicuous in the opposition in exile, rightly claim to have fathered the pressure that got the better of the Kerekou regime. Some of them indeed hoped to taste the fruits of this activism. And now, some sharp characters want to set them aside because of their advanced age. Beninese were polled in the various localities by a show of hands on their situation: Should they, can they still be candidates for the Supreme Court after the age of 70? No. In this Africa where old people are so greatly venerated, such a decision is somewhat surprising. But these people belong to Benin's past rather than its future. They would be useful as a moral authority in this High Council of the Republic. It is UNDP [National Union for Democracy and Progress] president Emile Derlin Zinsou who has up to now most vigorously opposed this kind of discrimination. Of course, he hastened to make it clear that he had no intention of aspiring to the Supreme Court himself. He merely disapproved of the unfairness of the principle in question. However, a few months ago he was heard proclaiming on a Western radio

broadcast that he would gladly take the field.... He has a party, first-rate activists, some whom might make good presidents....

This being the case, it would be presumptuous of the former presidents to think that the soil of Dahomey has not produced politicians after themselves, perhaps more capable than they. Moreover, wanting "another round of the same" 25 years later can only further weaken the young Beninese democracy. All the more so since all of these "veterans" have their traditional adversaries, who are already threatening to dig up the hatchet. For all these reasons, and for many more, the country needs new men. Outside of Benin, some African chiefs of state might have reason to fear the success of this experiment, especially if it should be regarded as an exportable model. How happy they would be if the whole thing ended in anarchy!

Emile Derlin Zinsou, Albert Tevoedjire, Hubert Maga, Adrien Houngbedji, Robert Dossou, Marius Francisco, Severin Adjovi, and the other pretenders to the throne do not have the right to play such a dirty trick on Africa, on all these peoples who are waiting for their turn.... For the time being, there is no cause for despair. The timetable established by the National Conference of "Living Forces of the Nation" (from 19 to 27 February 1990) is in the main being respected. The rough draft of the constitution was, as planned, submitted to the people of the country for their appraisal in April and May. The final text, as are the charter for the political parties and the election law, is practically finished. The presidential system: No doubt for the first time in the history of Africa, a constitution now limits the term of office of the chief of state: no more than two five-year terms. Without being elected by his people, Mathieu Kerekou will just the same have completed nearly four terms of this duration in office! He certainly deserves to be retired. After the adoption of the constitution within the next few days, the parties will go into action. Officially. Since they already occupy the field. At the rate things are going, there will probably be some 20 candidates on the first election ballot on 6 February 1991. There should only be two left on the second ballot on 10 March of the same year. Two weeks later we will know the name of the president of Benin as well as the majority party or parties in the assembly.

Then begins the toughest part: seeing to it that the country survives. For we forget too often today that a constitution, as good as it may be, is not enough to guarantee democracy. Especially not in Benin where, since independence, it has been the disastrous state of the economy that has most often led to the end of the different governments. So much so that, until Mathieu Kerekou's arrival on the scene in 1972, this country held the record for instability in Africa: five coups d'etat and some 10 changes of political regime in 12 years time.

All Unemployed Became Merchants

Hubert Maga, Sourou Migan Apithy, Justin Ahmadegbe, Christophe Soglo, Tairou Congacou, Maurice

Kouandete, Alphonse Alley, Emile Derlin Zinsou, Paul Emile de Souza...we still get lost in the list today. Alongside these meteors—some of them were in office scarcely a few weeks—Mathieu Kerekou's regime is probably a model of stability. Seventeen years. Does this mean that he was more successful than the others in terms of the economy?

No, as a matter of fact. Kerekou was clever enough to launch a Marxist "revolution" right from the start, one that could be mobilized with talk at the time. But that ideology alone would not have sufficed for the regime to have lasted as long as it did. Kerekou had the gods of the Atacora (his native region, in the northern part of the country) with him. He was a lucky fellow. Because, just as he was steeping his people in the socialist-communist discourse, the unbridled capitalism of their neighbor in the east, Nigeria, provided the Beninese with an opportunity for trade, which everyone greatly benefited from. It was an era of euphoria because of the oil boom.

Most of the businessmen got considerably richer. To supplement their paychecks at the end of the month, government employees deserted their offices and crossed the border on their motorcycles to buy (with nairas exchanged on the black market) various products, which they resold in markets in Cotonou and elsewhere. There were no more unemployed in Benin since they had all become merchants. Even the port facilities of Cotonou benefited from this manna from heaven since the port of Apapa (Lagos) had become too small to handle the African giant's imports.

But this fallout produced by Nigeria's prosperity probably only delayed the explosion. In the early 1980's the deterioration of Nigeria's economic situation brought the Beninese back to their own more austere realities. In early 1983 Nigerian President Shehu Shagari expelled nearly 3 million foreigners (among them the Beninese). He was overthrown a few months later by Mohamed Buhari, who delivered the coup de grace by closing the borders.

The Beninese had to cut down on their life style. Government employees suddenly discovered that they were underpaid and students that they had not received their scholarship stipends for months. Strikes followed street demonstrations. For a while the Mathieu Kerekou regime managed to contain these movements with force. But the persistence of the crisis strengthened the population's determination. And it was indeed against his will that he agreed to commit "hara-kiri" by convoking a national conference, that he tried in vain to salvage what he could.

Chameleon Ruined the Economy

Once again, therefore, it is the precariousness of the economy that was the cause of what may henceforth be regarded as the fall of Kerekou, who not long ago claimed that the economy would not be ruined in the hands of the chameleon. It is in smithereens. And one would be mistaken to think that the harsh laws of economics would spare a regime, not even a democratic one. The future will therefore depend essentially on the

ability of the Beninese to find ways to develop the meager resources of their soil. The current political enthusiasm must not be allowed to make us forget that Benin is above all a country with a sick economy.

Ivory Coast

Houphouet-Boigny Confirmed as President

AB071122290 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
 2200 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Two facts have marked the national news front today: first, the official proclamation of Supreme Court President Mr. Lazen Coulibaly of the definitive results of the 28 October presidential elections. During the ceremony this afternoon at the Presidential Palace, the victory of the candidate of the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, over Laurent Gbagbo of the Ivorian Popular Front was confirmed. [passage omitted]

Further on Results

AB0811094090 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
 0700 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Two major events that took place at the Presidential Palace yesterday constituted the highlights of the day's news in the Ivory Coast, two major events that will regulate the life of the nation. These were the official proclamation of the results of the presidential elections of 28 October, and the appointment of a prime minister at an emergency cabinet meeting.

Ivorians were already expecting the first major event because they had voted massively for the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally [PDCI-RDA] candidate on 28 October for a seventh five-year mandate. Mr. Lazen Namogo Kpoto Coulibaly, president of the Supreme Court, chaired this solemn ceremony which was attended by several top ranking personalities including heads of institutions, the Grand Chancellor of National Order, members of government, members of the Political Bureau of the PDCI-RDA, representatives of the diplomatic corps, and so on.

For this 28 October poll, the official results proclaimed by Supreme Court President Lanzeni Coulibaly are as follows: total number of voters registered, 4,408,809; total number of votes cast, 3,480,964; total number of votes cast for Houphouet-Boigny, 2,445,365; and for Laurent Gbagbo: 548,441. These are eloquent figures which reflect the will of the Ivorian people to continue with their all-time leader in the task of propelling their already gigantic achievements towards an even brighter future.

The president of the Supreme Court who expressed his impressions after announcing the results underlined President Houphouet-Boigny's far-sightedness and political courage, qualities which have always guided him in tackling the challenging trials strewn along the hard road to development. [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on Assembly Succession Law

AB0711134690 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
 1930 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] In the event of vacancy of power by the president of the Republic through death, resignation, or incapacitation duly certified by the Supreme Court after being informed thereof by the government, the office of the president shall legally be assumed by the speaker of the National Assembly. The office of the new president shall cease at the end of the current presidential mandate. Such is the content of the amended Article 11 passed this morning by the National Assembly after examining a government bill on the amendment of Articles 11, 12, and 24 of our Constitution.

This bill, which was presented this very morning by the keeper of the seals and minister of justice, settles outright and forthwith the head of state's succession process. The government representative, Mr. Noel Nemin, told parliamentarians that the government's proposal of this constitutional amendment was aimed at ensuring the continuous exercise of power without recourse to an interim arrangement that could lead to confusion:

[Begin Nemin recording] It is for these reasons that we propose, in the cases enumerated in Article 11, that the speaker of the National Assembly—who enjoys democratic legitimacy and dual trust reposed in him by both the electorate who elected him parliamentarian and his colleagues who made him speaker—become, without delay and without further ado, president of the Republic for the remaining term of the current presidential mandate. Thus, a state of harmony between the powers of president of the Republic and those of speaker of the National Assembly will be maintained. These provisions are contained in the amended Article 11. This instrument abrogates, ipso facto, the fine provision of Article 10, paragraph 4, which states that subject to the provisions of Article 11, paragraph 4. [sentence as heard]

From another standpoint, the political, economic, and social development of Ivory Coast and the increasing complexity of the functioning of the state machinery render necessary the creation of the post of the prime minister, head of government, whose duty will be to lead the government under the high authority of the president of the Republic, sole bearer of executive power. [end recording]

Speaker Henri Konan Bedie, after the passing of this bill, said that the amendment of the Constitution which had just been passed served as a guarantee for the nation's political capability, the continuity of the state machinery, and the reinforcement required for the continued economic and social development of our country. It is a beautiful demonstration of democracy in our country, Speaker Bedie stated:

[Begin Bedie recording] This marks a significant contribution by our institution to the nation's equilibrium. While we look forward to the day when the creation of an office

of vice president of the Republic becomes a reality, according to the directives of the father of the nation, this act, this provision meets the high expectations of our fellow countrymen in regard to a simple, harmonious, peaceful, and democratic succession in the leadership of the state, a succession which operates in the context of the collective and personal security of Ivorians and all the inhabitants of this country. This act is, consequently, a guarantee for the nation's political stability and the continuity of the state without setbacks. It reinforces the necessary conditions for continued economic and social development and peace for the happiness of the citizen. The new act is an instrument, among others, for ensuring the economic recovery of our country which will be reflected at home and, doubtlessly, abroad.

In regard to the article on the creation of the post of prime minister in Ivory Coast, it comes at a time when the complexity of the affairs of state call for a decentralization of trust at all levels and the installation of competent and highly efficient teams. The article is a requirement of our evolution and our time. It falls in perfect harmony with our presidential system of government in which the president of the Republic is the sole bearer of executive power.

This innovation will improve the quality of public departments and the performance of our administrative system, an instrument of development. We should be delighted with it, and we should endeavor to make the most of it once it is endorsed by the head of state, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, whose concern, as we all know, is to ensure good government for Ivory Coast. The most ardent wish of this assembly is that our fellow countrymen make good use of these acts in order that the present and future of Ivory Coast may resemble its recent past, the epitome of peace, progress, and happiness. It particularly behoves the elected representatives of the nation to see to it that this dream comes true. [end recording]

The new act which was passed this morning at an emergency session of the National Assembly has just been promulgated by the president of the Republic into law.

Alassane Ouattara Appointed Prime Minister

AB0711194090 Paris AFP in French 1907 GMT
7 Nov 90

[Text] Abidjan, 7 Nov (AFP)—Alassane Ouattara, 48, chairman of the Interministerial Committee for the Coordination of the Stabilization and Economic Recovery Program, was appointed prime minister of Ivory Coast by President Houphouet-Boigny today. The appointment was announced following an extraordinary cabinet meeting. Mr. Ouattara will form his government "within a few days," according to Government Spokesman Auguste Miremont. Yesterday the National Assembly voted to establish the prime minister's post.

Prime Ministerial, Speaker Roles Explained

AB0811100490 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
0700 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Excerpts] An emergency cabinet meeting followed the ceremony at which the results of the 28 October presidential elections were proclaimed. At this meeting, a prime minister was appointed in the person of Governor Alassane Dramane Ouattara. [passage omitted]

Concerning the event, here are the comments made by Mr. Auguste Miremont, minister of communications and government spokesman:

[Begin recording] Today, we had only a single item on the agenda of the cabinet meeting, namely, the appointment of a prime minister. This was in line with the commitment made by the head of state at the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally [PDCI-RDA] congress last month, and also in the wake of the amendments which have been made to our country's Constitution. This prime minister is Mr. Alassane Dramane Ouattara, who was, to date, chairman of the interministerial committee set up to find solutions to our country's financial and economic problems. [passage omitted]

The prime minister, as you are aware, is answerable to the president of the Republic. It should be remembered that we have a presidential system of government, because it seems some confusion has arisen over the various constitutional amendments, and this stems from the fact that it was stated that the speaker of the National Assembly would take over where and when there is a vacancy of power, whereas the prime minister, on his part, would serve as acting president during the absence of the head of state. These are, therefore, two distinct issues which must be explained to the general public. In other words, the speaker of the National Assembly, in a way, becomes the successor as soon as there is a vacancy of power, whereas the prime minister—who receives instructions from the president of the Republic—deputizes, on account thereof, for the president of the Republic when the head of state is out of the country. I think it is worthwhile emphasizing these points to ensure a clearer understanding of things. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Democracy Said Undermined at Elections

AB0711101690 Abidjan NOUVEL HORIZON
in French 5 Nov 90 pp 2,3

[Ouaraga Abou article entitled: "1990 Presidential Elections, Bane of the Republic of Ivory Coast"]

[Text] "Yesterday, we voted Houphouet. Again today, we are going to vote Houphouet. If tomorrow, by chance, Houphouet should be no more, we will vote on his grave." (Mamadou Coulibaly, former president of the Social and Economic Council, from the 9 November 1965 issue of FRATERNITE MATIN).

In the Ivorian authoritarian presidential system, the logic is to definitively stamp out the "authority contestation" dialectic. In so doing, electing the president of the Republic, in the view of Ivorian leadership, is in no way conditioned by democracy. Democracy, defined as a philosophy, a way of life, is first and foremost a system of government which tends to inject freedom into political relationships.

Since the notion of democracy is more political than legal, its definition is unavoidably marked by ambiguity. This is why the minority government, by taking advantage of universal suffrage to lend itself legitimacy, is also claiming to be democratic. Despite this controversy, democracy remains at the service of freedom. The two notions go hand in hand for freedom is enshrined in democracy. Without democracy, electing a president of the Republic is meaningless, yet Ivory Coast is suffering from a chronic absence of democracy. This negation of democracy, which has just been demonstrated during the last presidential elections, has at least three effects.

1. A people frustrated by their right to vote

Article 5 of the 3 November 1960 Ivorian Constitution unequivocally describes the electorate as "all Ivorian nationals of both sexes enjoying their civil and political rights." It follows from the constitutional provisions that only Ivorian nationals, aged 21 and above, who have not been deprived of their civic and political rights, have a right to vote. The Constitution is the supreme yardstick and this right cannot be extended to cover non-Ivorians without violating the letter of the Constitution.

As a result, any extension of voting rights to foreigners presupposes a revision to the relevant constitutional provision. Any other practices or legislation, however generous they may be, are contrary to the Constitution. So to describe all those who deny the voting right to foreigners as xenophobes is sheer ignorance of the law, because the spirit of the Constitution cannot seriously tamper with the letter of the Constitution. Why should we interpret something that is unequivocal? Unconcerned about the hierarchy of norms, the Ivorian leadership, by resorting to a practice or a legislation which contradicts the Constitution, grants the right to vote to foreigners.

In fact, without making any distinction, the right to vote was accorded to all the inhabitants of Ivory Coast (1960-1980). The nationality factor no longer served as the criterion for consideration. It only suffices for one to be physically present on Ivorian soil at the time of presidential elections to qualify to exercise one's voting right. What credit can be given to this type of election?

Certainly, to give a legal backing to this unconstitutional practice, the Ivorian legislators hurriedly recognized the voting rights of only non-Ivorians of African origin in 1980. This discrimination based on race cannot escape analysis, for Article 6 of the Ivorian Constitution constantly stipulates that "The Republic ensures to all equality before the law, without distinction of origin,

race, sex, or religion." Moreover, despite the legislator's intervention, this ordinary law can in no way modify the constitutional provisions.

Notwithstanding this strong dose of unconstitutionality, foreigners of African origin who are properly registered on the electoral lists since 1960 have the right to vote just like Ivorian citizens. Because of this "acquired right," these foreigners of African origin were allowed to participate in the recent presidential elections. However, compared to the past, it is not at all necessary, according to the October 1990 amendments, to be properly registered since 1960 on the electoral lists in order to participate in electing the president of the Republic. Henceforth, all non-Ivorians of African origin enjoy the right to vote, no matter how long they stay in Ivory Coast.

This practice, which badly conceals the fraudulent intentions of the Ivorian legislator, discredits the position of the president of the Republic. By using illegal means, the Ivorian Administration and legislators have compromised the election of the president of the Republic.

2. A compromised election

Two major facts compromise the election of the president of the Republic:

- the incompetence of the administration;
- the fraudulent intention of the political authority.

With an unclear definition of the electorate, the administration was notoriously incompetent in precisely determining the electoral population. Lacking experience in matters of democratic pluralism, the Ivorian Administration was unable to readapt itself to the situation fast enough to establish complete and updated electoral lists in line with competitive elections, and this has led to two irregularities. Since the registration of voters on the electoral lists coincided with the closure of the polling stations, the number of registered voters in each polling station could not be determined in advance throughout the national territory.

The contradictory interpretation by presiding officers of polling stations of the "pieces of paper" issued by the Ministry of Interior did not help in clarifying conditions for the ballot.

Some of them attributed legal value to these papers, thereby enabling their bearers to take part in the vote. This lax interpretation of the papers tainted the ballot with illegality, as it made it easier for voters to move around and helped increase the number of dummy or clandestine polling stations.

For others, these papers, bearing no reference to the Ministry of Interior, did not have any legal value. Though coherent, this interpretation penalized many voters by depriving them of their right to vote.

Legally, the 7 November 1960 Bill, amended by Bill No. 85-1073 of 12 October 1985 on the election of the president of the Republic, authorizes several candidates to contest the presidential post. The abovementioned laws do

not set any condition other than the one requiring a candidate to be sponsored by a political party. But because of the de facto imposition of the single party, any candidacy other than that of the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast, PDCI, was not accepted. In addition to these de facto discriminations came the October 1990 electoral reform concerning the election of the president of the Republic. Each presidential candidate must pay a deposit of 20 million CFA francs to the Public Treasury instead of 500,000 CFA francs as in France.

By introducing this discriminatory law based on monetary considerations, was it not the clear intention of lawmakers to exclude the opposition, through legal means, from institutional political life?

Do the abovementioned practices not make the election of the new president illegal, since universal suffrage no longer appears to be the primary source of democratic power? Can the elected president use Article 8 of the Constitution to ensure the continuity of the state, or will he resort to Article 19 of the Constitution relating to exceptional circumstances?

3. A civil war logic

Faced with a crisis of legitimacy, the Ivorian State is forced to use, the permanent logic of civil war as the only alternative for dominating the citizens. To that effect, it has excess discretionary powers to check threats to public order. That is why it resorts to the use of violent and coercive repression (massive arrest of protesters) in the event of the least sign of protest. It seems that arbitrary repression and excessive personalized power are currently serving to rehabilitate the Ivorian State. In fact, this obsession with a permanent crisis serves as justification for paralyzing the democratic operation of institutions within a multiparty system. By setting up a de facto state of emergency, the Ivorian political authorities are arousing among citizens a feeling of dislike for anything linked to the state.

Despite the suppression of the State Security Court and the transfer of its powers to judicial courts, the military authorities are currently committing political crimes.

By using democratic institutions, such as the multiparty system, the Ivorian leadership is strengthening and legitimizing its authoritarianism. Only a law-abiding state can save the Republic in danger. This means that freedom must prevail over institutionalized violence. It is by checking legalized violence that the Ivorian State could convince its citizens instead of overpowering them with arbitrariness.

Bank Governor on Financial Situation, Devaluation

AB0711153290 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN
in French 7 Nov 90 p 5

[Text] The financial position of the Central Bank of the West African States (BCEAO) is sound, Alassane Dramane Ouattara, governor of the bank, stated. "We have,

at last, crossed the red zone in the books of the Bank of France, where our operating account now shows a credit balance," he declared on 5 November in Bamako. The governor also ruled out any devaluation of the CFA franc. "The general situation within the West African Monetary Union [UMOA] is good, and there is no question of devaluing the CFA franc."

The BCEAO governor opted for a development-oriented investment credit system rather than the consumer credit approach which constituted the rule in all the member states of the union. Founded in 1962, UMOA includes Ivory Coast, Senegal, Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger, Togo, and Mali.

Liberia

Spriggs Payne Airport Reopened; Medevac Underway

AB0711152890 Paris AFP in English 1222 GMT
7 Nov 90

[Text] Freetown, Nov 7 (AFP)—Monrovia's small Spriggs Payne airport, closed in intensified fighting between rebels and government troops earlier this year, was reopened Wednesday to helicopter and light aircraft traffic, African diplomats here said. The airport, four kilometers (2.5 miles) east of the Executive Mansion, has been used in recent days by a West African expeditionary force (ECOMOG) to airlift wounded soldiers to the Sierra Leonean capital. Observers said the reopening of the airport could ease the flow of relief aid to tens of thousands of Liberians trapped without food and adequate medical care in Monrovia.

Informed sources said plans were well under way for the departure of senior members of an interim Liberian government headed by political science professor Amos Sawyer from Freetown to Monrovia. The government, set up by Liberian politicians and religious leaders under the auspices of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in August, is to be installed in the Executive Mansion. The mansion was now cleared after the recent "mysterious disappearance of General David Nimley" who had stepped in after the death of the late president Samuel Doe on September 10 at the hands of breakaway rebels led by Prince Johnson.

Sources said the members of the government are to be airlifted to Spriggs Payne airport "shortly." The diplomats said Robertsfield, the country's only international airport, 55 kilometers (35 miles) east of Monrovia, would not open in the near future because of "extensive" equipment damage. Reliable sources said the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), the main rebel group led by Charles Taylor, has used Robertsfield in recent months to fly in arms shipments from Libya and Burkina Faso.

Separate reports from the Sierra Leone-Liberia border said Sierra Leone security forces had stopped allowing

NPFL rebels from crossing into the country to buy food and medicine. The government has not reacted to the development.

Ex-Official Comments on ECOWAS, Doe's Death

*AB0711130090 Dakar PANA in English
1211 GMT 7 Nov 90*

[Text] Lagos, 7 Nov. (PANA)—The capture and subsequent death of former Liberian President Samuel Doe is being probed by a high level investigative panel set up by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Nigeria's semi-official newspaper, DAILY TIMES, reported Wednesday. The report was based on an exclusive interview granted the TIMES correspondent Tuesday in Freetown by Paul Wie, Liberia's former acting minister of information. Wie is a survivor of the 9 September bloody shoot-out in which about 60 of Doe's bodyguards were killed in the ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] headquarters, by troops of breakaway rebel leader Prince Yormie Johnson.

Doe was captured in the incident and later executed. Wie, shot in the arms and legs, survived by playing dead under a pile of bodies of members of the former president's entourage. Explaining the motive behind Doe's visit to the ECOMOG headquarters, Wie said the former president went there to get an insight into what the command was doing and see how quickly the situation in the country could be brought to normalcy.

Wie described the events that led to Doe's death as a long story and a nightmarish experience. I don't want to implicate anybody. Also, I don't want to go public because of the sensitivity of the situation, he said. Wie said anyone who criticises the ECOWAS peacekeeping force, ECOMOG, does not have the interest of the Liberian people at heart. Also, he pledged to cooperate with the interim government of Amos Sawyer until elections are held. An official of the Lagos-based ECOWAS general secretariat contacted by PANA on the issue said, we are not aware of such a probe.

Advance Party of Interim Government in Capital

*AB0711164290 Lagos Domestic Service in English
1500 GMT 7 Nov 90*

[Text] President Ibrahim Babangida was today in Lagos briefed on the operations of ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] by the chief of staff of the force, Brigadier Owezi. Details of the briefing were not disclosed, but Brigadier Owezi told Dodan Barracks correspondents later that the

situation in Monrovia has stabilized. He said that the climate is now ripe for the Interim Government to be inaugurated in the Liberian capital. Brigadier Owezi stated that the advanced party of the Interim Government had arrived in Monrovia while the main party will be in the capital within a week. He said ECOMOG troops were in high spirits, and dismissed suggestions of any (?fears) in the base of the force in Sierra Leone.

Niger

Five-Day Strike Brings Life to Standstill

*AB0611221090 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 6 Nov 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Niger is in the grip of a five-day general strike, the longest ever organized by the country's trade unions. It is part of a general agitation in Niger for greater democracy as well as a protest to the austerity measures imposed by external financial institutions. From Niamey, Seraji Kaney telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Niger is at a standstill for the second day running. The international airport is closed with no planes arriving or departing. Schools and offices are shut, and in the capital, Niamey, there are no taxis running and the streets are deserted. There was a peaceful demonstration held in Niamey today with marchers chanting antigovernment slogans.

The strike has been called by the country's main union grouping which comprises 27 different unions. The unions are demanding a national conference to install a multiparty system. They are arguing that as other African countries have begun to allow democracy, so should Niger.

This latest strike follows intermittent strikes which have been going on since February this year when three students were killed by security forces during a demonstration. There has also been anger over the government's alleged killing of Tuaregs in the north.

There has been no official reaction to the strike, but the labor minister has said repeatedly that this strike is illegal, and the government has ruled that all striking state workers will have their salaries docked for these five days. The strike will not help an already grave economic situation in Niger, where there is a World Bank-sponsored structural adjustment program in place which has hit wages hard. President Ali Saibou met the strike organizers last Friday [2 November] to try and avert the strike, but he had no success. [end recording]

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